



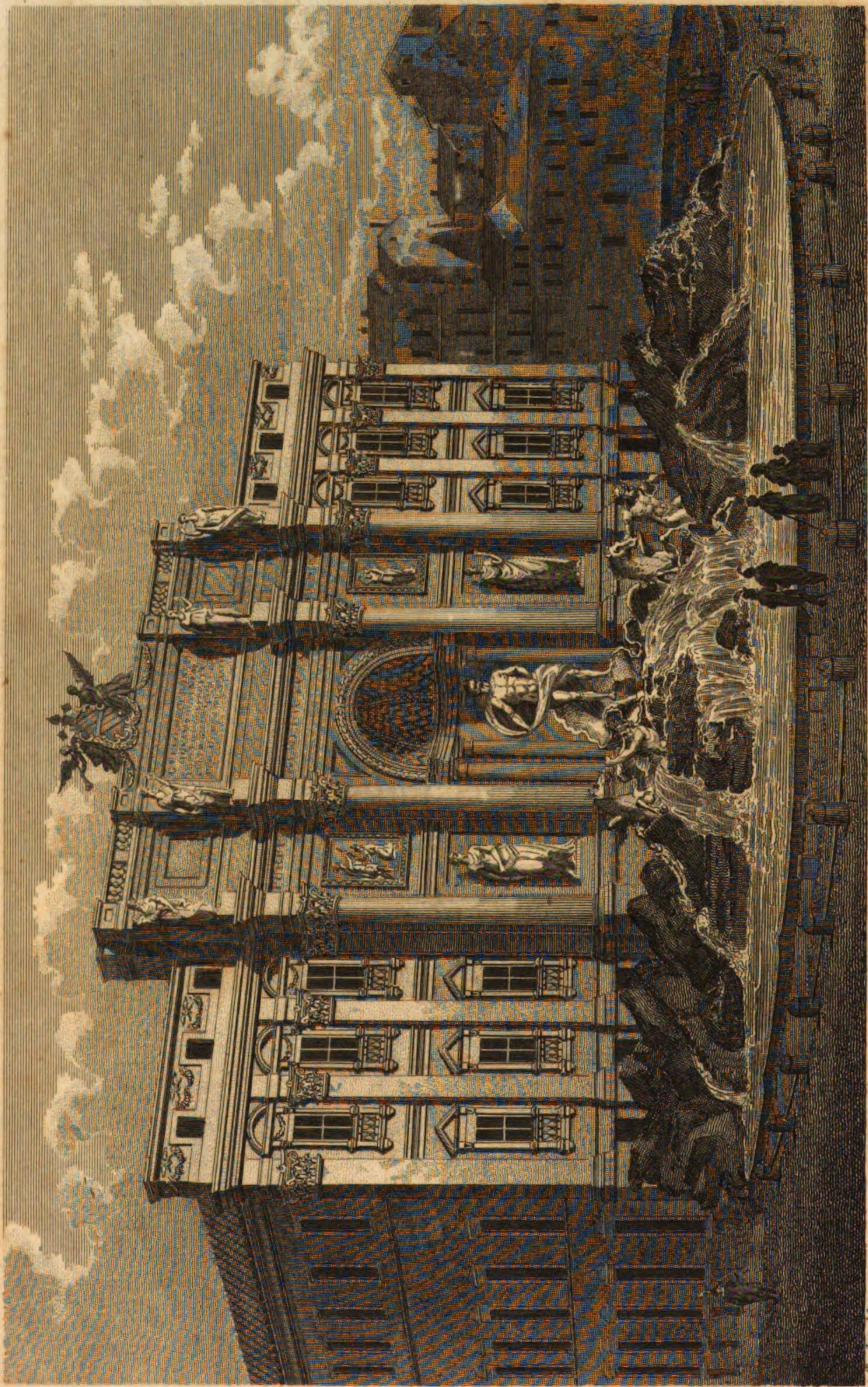
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A
DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
VARIOUS PALACES
AND
PUBLIC BUILDINGS,

(ENGLISH AND FOREIGN:)

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THEIR FOUNDERS,
AND OTHER EMINENT PERSONS.

BY JAMES NORRIS BREWER.

With various Additions and Emendations,

By B. R. GILL, Esq.

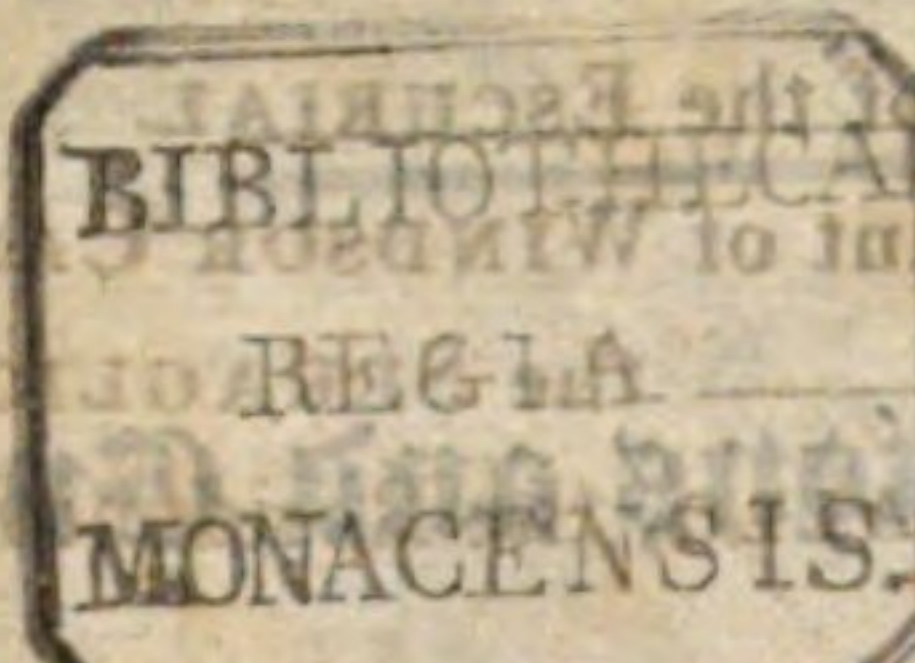
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1821.

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7. of discussion can be more interesting than an analysis of Fortresses.
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PREFACE.

LITTLE apology is necessary in presenting a Work of this Description to the notice of the English reader;—but few circumstances of discussion can be more interesting than an analysis of Fortresses and Mansions of eminence; and more especially, if the reader, at the same time, direct his attention to the history and fortune of those persons who are, or have been, connected with each structure that comes under consideration. It is well known that the temper, the genius, and the pursuits of an historical era, stand delineated in the features of remarkable edifices. This being admitted, it is somewhat surprizing that every work, which has professedly pretended to treat on Public Buildings, or Private Mansions, goes no farther than a mere cursory account of prominent characteristics.

Desirous to render this work a valuable appendage to the library of the man of rank, as well as to the general reader, the Editor has avoided abstruse and laborious dissertations on architecture as an art; confining his remarks to such points as involved matters of

general taste, or were united with some peculiarity of national manners. Where circumstances admitted, he has endeavoured to enter largely on biographical disquisition, convinced that an account of the founder would frequently tend to elucidate the character and purposes of a splendid palace; and confidently presuming that no man can possibly contemplate the impressive features of an august edifice, without experiencing curiosity concerning those who first tenanted the structure, or who formed the plan, and raised the building, as a monument of private grandeur or of public spirit.

The Engravings have been executed by artists of the greatest celebrity, and the utmost attention has been paid to exactitude and correctness. The improvements which have been made in this Edition must be left to the judgment of the Reader. One remark, however, will be obvious, that neither pains nor expence have been spared to aid the compilation.

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MAY 30th, 1821.

general taste, or were united with some peculiarity of national manners. Where circumstances admitted, he has endeavoured to enter largely on geographical description, convinced that an account of the country is a necessary part of the knowledge of its people, and that this assertion may appear, it is justly and properly correct. The purpose of a geographical description is to present a clear and correct view of the country, and to show its position in relation to the other parts of the world.

Description

OF

COTSEA BHAUG;

WITH SOME

ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF ARCHITECTURE

THROUGHOUT HINDOOSTAN.

ONE of the most grateful sources of amusement connected with a work like the present, is the perpetual variety which we are enabled to introduce to our pages. Placing ourselves, through one article, as spectators of a great building attached to the splendour of our native country, and directing our course, in another, to the novel magnificence of a distant edifice, we comprise the chief advantages of a laborious travel, without that fatiguing detail of intermediate stages which generally consists of an enumeration of post-towns, and an incorrect description of uninteresting tracts of country.

The circumstances attending a voyage to the Eastern Indies have often been detailed. Supposing the island of Madeira to be passed, St. Helena visited, and the Cape of Good Hope doubled, we now welcome the reader to the banks of the river Jumna, and request his attention to the city of Delhi and its vicinity.

Delhi (according to the Ayeen Ackbery, formerly called Inderput,) is situ-

ated in latitude 31°. In proportion to the decline observable in the ancient capital—termed Canouge, Delhi rose in magnificence and power. “The empire of Delhi,” say historians, “was founded by a slave;” and however degrading this assertion may appear, it is indisputably correct.

Towards the latter end of the twelfth century, Mohammed waged successful war against Candi, King of Delhi, and finally slew the native prince, who fell amidst the flower of his army and most faithful of his subjects. While this Mussulman conqueror directed his arms to the north of India, he left his slave and friend, Cuttub, with a considerable detachment of his forces in the town of Koram. On the return of Mohammed, the slave Cuttub quitted Koram, and took the fort of Merat, and city of Delhi, from the family of Candi Rai. In the year 1193, he also captured the fort of Kole, and making Delhi the seat of his government, obliged all the surrounding districts to admit the supremacy of the arms “of the faithful.”

At this period, the city of Delhi boasted all the beauty and splendour familiar with the eastern world. The native monarchs of Hindoostan had successively lavished on the favorite metropolis every ornament that immense wealth and a luxuriance of fancy could suggest.* Numerous temples reared their sublime pinnacles over an endless variety of costly buildings erected for the purposes of commerce, or appropriated to the diffusion of science. Beautiful gardens and aromatic groves surrounded the city, while frequent palaces bespoke the facility with which wealth was obtained, and the security with which it was enjoyed.

“The greatest length,” we are informed by Maurice, “of the Soobah of Delhi is 165 coss;† and its extreme breadth 140 coss. On the east lies Agra;

* When Mahmud made a successful irruption into the heart of Delhi, in the year 1011, the splendour of the city captivated him in a forcible degree. “As the successive bands of armed plunderers,” says the historian, “ranged through the apartments of the Rajah’s magnificent abode, enriched with all that the mines and the looms, and the genius of India, could afford to decorate them; as they tore down the gold brocade and embroidered tapestry that lined the walls, and the plates of silver that covered the ceilings, they felt no sentiment of compunction or pity: the solid weight and sterling value of the spoil alone occupied their consideration; and Mahmud himself was so delighted with the place, that he reluctantly yielded back the sceptre to the vanquished Rajah, on the usual terms of paying an annual tribute.”

† The Indian coss is two British statute miles.

COTSEA BHAUG.

on the north are mountains ; on the south the boundaries are Agra and Ajmeer ; and Lodyaneh confines it on the west. The principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna. The climate is very temperate. Most of the lands are inundated during the periodical rains. Some places in it are said to produce three harvests in a year. In this Soobah grow most of the fruits of Persia, Tartary, and Hindoostan, with an infinite variety of the loveliest flowers. Throughout its whole extent are interspersed many magnificent buildings of stone and brick ; and it is stored with the productions of every part of the globe. A part of the northern mountains of this Soobah is called Kamaoon, in which are mines of gold, lead, silver, iron, copper, orpiment, and borax. Here is also found abundance of musk-deer, silk-worms, falcons of various kinds, and plenty of honey." It is therefore not surprising that a city possessed of so many natural advantages, and those of so transcendant a quality, should long continue the favourite emporium of Mussulman authority.

At the period of the invasion of Timur (1398) we are told, "Delhi had arrived at a point of distinction in regard to wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. The capital is described as then consisting of three cities, denominated Seiri, Gehanpenah, and old Delhi. Seiri was invested with a strong circular wall ; old Delhi had likewise a circular wall, and was much more considerable in extent ; Gehanpenah ran between the two cities, and was considerably larger than either. The metropolis, thus composed of three towns, spread over a very wide extent of ground, and, according to some writers, possessed fifty gates. It was celebrated for a mosque of astonishing dimensions, and for a palace of admirable magnificence, which was ornamented with a thousand marble columns. The city was the seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic carried on by the Indian merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China produced. But a ferocious conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India, and the delight of her sovereigns, must soon bow her exalted head."

Timur conquered, and a transaction of lamentable barbarity preceded his conquest. 100,000 Indians had joined him, during his march from the Indus to Delhi. When these forlorn beings beheld the walls of their great city, and witnessed the exertions of their countrymen, they faltered in the work of

fratricide; and Timur feared that they would join the adverse party, in the instance of a general action.

Their number was considerable, and the slaughter immense, as they were massacred to a man, in sight of the opposite army! A few hours afterwards, Timur prostrated himself on the ground, and begged the blessing of his Creator on the sanctified arms of "the faithful."

It was on the 4th of January, 1399, that the banners of Timur were displayed on the walls of Delhi. The conqueror seated himself on the gorgeous throne of the subjugated prince, and received the homage of the people. As he thus reclined in all the splendour of eastern pomp, the rhinoceros of the royal stables, and the state elephants, to the number of 120, adorned with gold, and sparkling with jewels, were conducted to the foot of the throne. These animals had been so well instructed by their keepers, that they fell prostrate before the mighty sovereign, and uttered, it is said, "a sorrowful cry, as if demanding quarter."

The conquerors of Delhi now filled the imperial city with wassailry and riot. The variety of viands served at the triumphant banquets was sufficient to satiate the most refined epicurism. The dishes were of massy gold; and sparkling wines were circulated in cups of crystal, enriched with the diamonds of Golconda. "Concerts of music, set to Bacchanalian tunes," lent a zest to the flowing goblet; and the smiles of beauty realised each voluptuous dream of ebriety.

But danger lurked at the bottom of the cup of pleasure. The work of blood was not yet complete, and the bacchanalians hurried from their frantic table to place the sword at the throat of tottering age or unconscious infancy. "Impatient to see so celebrated a metropolis, and the curiosities which it contained, the Sultanas who attended the army obtained permission from Timur to enter the city. On this occasion the great gate being thrown wide open, a body of 15,000 soldiers contrived to enter with the procession, who, joining a much larger body already within the walls, began to commit the most dreadful outrages on the affrighted inhabitants. To prevent any further increase of the tumult, the Omrahs on duty ordered the gates of the city to be shut; but, inflamed with the desire of plunder, the soldiers broke open the gates,

and admitted the remainder of the army, which had been encamped without the walls. A scene shocking to nature and reflection now took place: a general massacre and devastation reigned at once in every quarter. The houses of the citizens were first pillaged and then burnt. An innumerable band of natives, who had fled to the great mosque of old Delhi, either to shelter or to defend themselves, were, without distinction, cut off, and of their heads pyramids were formed—a lasting monument of the barbarity of their invaders.”

The plunder and massacre lasted two whole days, and Timur, to his perpetual disgrace, is supposed to have favored the horrid scene. In addition to gold, silver, and precious stones, the victorious Tartars bore away a numerous collection of slaves of both sexes. Timur remained for several days, to regale his eyes with the view of desolation, and then adjourned to a celebrated mosque three miles distant, which was situated amid peaceful groves, in an envied seclusion, where he devoutly returned thanks to God for the success that had attended his arms. Touching the holy book of the Mohammedan faith with reverence and awe, Timur looked with confidence to the Almighty, certain of having attended to those *written* lessons which infatuated bigotry induced him to think of superior importance to the sacred laws of humanity implanted in his heart by the legible, unerring hand of his Maker.

In the reign of the Emperor Akber, Delhi experienced some years of security, and was for a time the residence of that celebrated monarch, whose politeness lent a grace to the dignity of oriental manners, and rendered majesty pleasing, without detracting from the necessary exaltation of its aspect.

Shah Jehan, in the year 1634, formed the resolution of re-building the ancient capital of Hindoostan in a manner likely to celebrate his name among posterity. “The most skilful architects and masons were procured for this important undertaking from various distances. The Emperor drew the outlines of his new city on a large plain on the western banks of the Jumna; and in constructing it made use of the same sort of red stone, of the hardness and colour of jasper, brought from the quarries of Fettepore, which Akber had employed in building the castle of Agra. The city was fortified with twelve lofty towers, and had as many magnificent gates; the principal gate fronted the palace, and was of uncommon magnitude and grandeur. The palace itself surpassed every thing of the kind in India; the walls of the principal apart-

ments being lined with marble, and the ceilings of many of them overlaid with plates of silver. The grand mosque was also without a rival, being incrustated within and without with marble of various colours. The Bazaars (public market-places) were surrounded by arches; which, at the same time that they gave a perpetual shade below, supported noble terraces above; while the shops themselves were stored with the richest merchandize of Asia. The city was about seven miles in circumference, and was surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone, the Jumna itself forming a defence on the fourth, while Shah Jehan's principal care was to make two gardens of inconceivable magnificence, called the gardens of Shalimar, which alone cost him a million sterling. Here were grottoes of great extent and depth, where the beams of the sun never penetrated; canals of the fairest water filled with gold and silver-fishes; fountains that, for ever playing, diffused a refreshing coolness around, while the choicest flowers and fruits of Asia, by their fragrance and flavour, on every side administered to the gratification of the delighted senses."

Delhi now became the resort of the curious; and the most elevated expectation usually fell short of the riches actually contained in the new capital of India. Shah Jehan had a natural taste for voluptuous magnificence: a long list of plundered provinces rendered up their dearest treasures, and the palace blazed with tributary diamonds. By this emperor was constructed the famous Tukt Taûs, or peacock throne, the body of which was solid gold, incrustated with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires! * It was called the peacock throne from "having the figure of two peacocks standing behind it, with their tails expanded, which were studded with various jewels, to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one eme-

* An engraving of this superb throne may be seen in the "Indian Antiquities." The number of jewels mentioned in oriental history, as belonging to each successive monarch, may almost exceed the possibility of belief; yet several circumstances exist to strengthen the probability of the historian's correctness. The jewels appertaining to the Imperial family were never alienated, but continually centered in the person of the reigning monarch. The diamonds of the Harem were all perforated, and therefore actually unfit for sale. All that were collected were consequently preserved, and it must be remembered, that the customary present from the great Omrahs of state, or tributary princes, to the Mogul, was a diamond, a pearl, a ruby, or an emerald.

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rald." The precious stones with which this throne was ornamented, were valued at £1,250,000 sterling.

A most sumptuous gallery was, likewise, to be seen at Delhi. The interior of this building the Emperor had intended to cover entirely with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, so disposed as to present the appearance of clusters of grapes in the different stages of growth, from early green to the deep red of maturity. This plan was commenced, and three stocks of a vine, with their leaves and fruit, were constructed; but to complete this dazzling vineyard was found impossible, as the known world did not contain sufficient jewels for the purpose. The design, at any rate, merits praise, as one of the most gorgeous projects that ever entered the human imagination.

Few cities have experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune as Delhi. Although repeatedly plundered and burnt by Tartars, Persians, and Mahrattas, it preserved its original consequence till nearly the middle of the last century, and presents, at this day, an august specimen of Asiatic grandeur.

In the vicinity of this great city, the borders of the river Jumna assume a variety of captivating beauties. On the banks of the Jumna, accordingly, are built many costly mansions, among which the *Cotsea Bhaug* holds a distinguished place.*

The palace is built of stone, and covered in part with stucco of a very durable nature. The apartments, as is usual with Mohammedan buildings, receive light principally from the garden side. The octangular projections at the corners form an exception, but these appear to consist only of inferior apartments. The roof is smoothly terraced, and commands a fine view of the city of Delhi and the river Jumna.

The gardens are spacious, and are laid out in straight walks, paved with freestone. Beds of aromatic flowers are tastefully disposed, and numerous fountains ornament the different divisions, and impart a refreshing coolness to the air. In regard to the plantations, Nature, prodigal of her bounty, supplies the place of art. Mangos (the strings of their branches forming a natural arcade) constitute an outward barrier. The guava, the lime, the orange, and

* *Cotsea Bhaug* is so called from the *Bhaug*, or garden, within this quadrangular building, which was erected by the *Cotsea Begum*, a Mohammedan lady, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, about 200 years since.

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pomegranate, flourish beneath an oriental sun, without the fostering tenderness of skill ; and the pensile foliage of the tamarind expands also with gratuitous delicacy.

On the south side of the Cotsea Bhaug, adjoining the outward wall, there is a mosque ; and on the north is the principal entrance. It exhibits to the traveller a splendid specimen of the genius and opulence of the period in which the foundress lived.

The time does not admit our attributing this building to the Arabesc style. It is apparent that the architect of Cotsea Bhaug was averse to the pinnacle and pyramidal form so frequent in the earlier ages. His regularity of design may be noted as worthy of praise. In general, his embellishments possess the merit of a chaste simplicity ; a proof of great strength of judgment, when we recollect that nature all around wore a face abundantly florid, and that original architectural effort is inevitably deduced from the complexion of natural objects.

To elucidate this latter observation, we cannot refrain from indulging in a few short remarks ; yet we must observe, that in so doing, we merely study to *remind* the reader concerning curious particulars, and do not assume the office of *informing* him on subjects connected with the elementary principles of architecture. "That trees were the originals of columns," says a well-known architect, "seems evident from some very ancient Egyptian ruins still remaining, in which are seen columns composed of many small trees tied together with bandages, to form one strong pillar. Herodotus describes a stately stone-building, which stood in the court of the temple of Minerva at Sais, the columns of which were made to imitate palm-trees."

The orders of architecture (so well known to constitute the basis on which the chief decorative parts of the art are established) were formed in attention to the various modifications of the human form : the Doric presents the image of a stout Herculean warrior ; the chaste Ionic personifies the grave and respectable matron ; the Corinthian column represents the delicate figure of a youthful female, while the capital owes its origin to a basket of trinkets, round which the luxuriant acanthus accidentally entwined its beautiful sprigs ; and the Tuscan, homely in its purposes, gives us the figure of the sturdy simple labourer.

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In a no less memorable degree did the Gothic builders (the wild, poetical geniuses of architecture !) borrow immediately from the sympathetic graces of nature. "This northern people" (says Bishop Warburton, speaking of the Goths) "having been accustomed, during the gloom of paganism, to worship the deity in groves, when their new religion required covered edifices, ingeniously contrived to make them resemble groves, as nearly as the distance of architecture would permit, and with what skill and success they executed their project appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well-grown trees, intermixing their branches over-head, but it presently put him in mind of the long vista through a Gothic cathedral ; or ever entered one of the larger and more elegant edifices of this kind, but it represented to his imagination an avenue of trees."

Dr. Warburton further observes, that, if this mode of explanation be received, it obviates many objections which have hitherto been successfully made against the style of Gothic architecture. The arches, he remarks, could not be otherwise than pointed, when the workmen were to imitate that curve which the branches of the two opposite trees make by their intersection with each other ; nor the columns otherwise than split into distinct shafts, when they were to represent the stems of a clump of trees growing closely together.

"On the same principle," he further observes, "the Goths formed the spreading ramification of the stone-work in the windows, and the stained glass in the interstices ; the one to represent the branches, and the other the leaves of an opening grove ; and both concurred to preserve that gloomy light which inspires religious reverence and dread."

Thus is it evident that, where no determinate rules of art exist, architects have ever been in the habit of recurring immediately to nature as a prototype. No positive restrictions deterred the architects of Akber's reign from the wildest excursions ; and, therefore, much praise is due to that sobriety of judgment which kept the eccentric wanderings of imagination within due bounds. In fact, architecture, during the reign of Akber, would appear to have shone with eminent lustre ; which will appear evident from our short account of the general character of Hindoostan buildings.*

* The city of Delhi, in the neighbourhood of the Cotsea Bhaug, was formerly the seat of Hindoo dominion over northern India.

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The native Hindoo character of building is distinguished by an imposing air of massive dignity. Two round towers, of a very singular construction, are to be seen about a mile N. W. of the town of Bhaugulpore. "They much resemble," says Lord Valentia, "those buildings in Ireland which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the sister-kingdoms, except that they are more ornamented. It is singular that there is no tradition concerning them. The Rajah of Jyenagur considers them as holy, and has erected a small building to shelter the great number of his subjects who annually come to worship here." These erections are evidently of very great antiquity.

Some idea of the domestic architecture of the Hindoos may be formed from the following description of Benares, by the same noble author: "The streets are so extremely narrow that it was with difficulty I kept my horse from touching the side. The houses are built of stone, some six stories high, close to each other, with terraces on the summit. They are whimsically painted, and the architecture is as extraordinary. Bands of carved work run, in general, round each story, by no means despicably executed; and the large masses of stone used in the walls, together with the neat manner in which they are joined, show that the masons are very tolerable workmen. The windows are extremely small, and probably they are formed in this manner to answer two purposes: first, to prevent the opposite neighbours from overlooking the apartments; and, secondly, to keep the houses more cool during the hot winds. The opposite sides of the street, in some places, approach so near to each other that they are united by galleries." The city of Benares is regarded with religious veneration by the Hindoos; the number of Mohammedan inhabitants is not in the proportion of one to ten.

The Pagoda of Ramiseram is one of the finest pieces of Hindoo architecture that the country produces. This building is thus described: "The entrance to the Pagoda was through a very lofty gateway, I should suppose about 100 feet high, covered with carved work to the summit. It was pyramidically oblong, and ended in a kind of Sarcophagus. The door was about forty feet high, and composed of single stones placed perpendicularly, with others crossing over. This massive workmanship reminds the spectator of the ruins of Egyptian architecture.

"A cloister was next entered, that led through a triple row of pillars to a

square, cloistered all round. The inside was concealed in part by walls, and within were the sacred temples. The pillars were three feet deep, and had carved figures of deities in the front. The square seemed to be about 600 feet in size. The whole building is surrounded by a lofty wall.

"In the centre of the edifice is a small temple, dedicated to Mahadeo ; on the right a very large one, unfinished, dedicated to Rama-swamee ; and on the left a smaller, complete, where his wife Seta resided. The front was ornamented with red painting, and innumerable figures of different deities : before Mahadeo's was a tank."

Lord Valentia dwells with peculiar admiration on the general effect of this building. The extreme pertinacity with which the Brahmins guard the interior of their temples from the inquisitive researches of foreigners is well known. The "Holy of Holies," therefore, remained impervious to Lord Valentia—for he had sufficient good sense to obey, in the most minute particular, the wishes of the native priests—but, from the entrance of the second temple, he was enabled to obtain an indistinct view of the forbidden retreat. "The mysterious gloom," observes his lordship, "was by no means sufficiently dissipated by the lamps to enable me to distinguish accurately, as the temple retired back a considerable way. I could perceive a brazen pillar, ending in a vane of three cross-bars, and surmounted by a bird. The goddess was beyond, seemingly richly dressed. The Pandaram himself is not permitted to enter the innermost temple, nor any one but the attendant Brahmins, who live in the town, and have their share of the offerings. Rama's temple is within, like his wife's, except that a large brazen *linguam* is in front of him, where the pillar stood in the other."

The Mussulman buildings in India are generally distinguished by a light, airy elegance of construction. The following extract must be necessarily supposed to relate to one of the most costly modern erections of Hindoostan: "The Sungi Dalam (or stone palace) is a very elegant building, perfectly in the eastern style, open on all sides, and supported by pillars. It is, as the name designates, built of stone, but the whole is painted of a deep red colour, except the domes that cover the towers at the corner. These are gilt all over ; the effect is extremely rich. The centre room is large ; two narrower on each side make the shape of the whole building a square, with circular towers at the four

corners. It is raised one story from the ground, and a large terrace connects it with a smaller but similar building. A most magnificent *musnud* of gold, covered with brocade, and embroidered wreaths of roses, was placed at one end of the large apartment. We dined in the smaller, on one side, whence we had a view of the basin of water which extends to the Hummaum attached to the palace. The sides of the bason were covered with coloured lamps, and a complete trellis-work of the same extended on each side of the walk."

The sublimity of splendour apparent in this narration is, however, far from being universal throughout the Mussulman districts of India. Tippoo had his throne of studded diamonds, and garments of oppressive magnificence, but his palaces were comparatively mean, and the interior of the private apartments in no way remarkable for elegance. His Zenana was "extremely bad. It consisted of a quadrangular building, two stories high, with verandahs all round opening into the centre. Some of the rooms were large, but void of decoration, and the pillars were of wood." According to the assertions of several gentlemen who entered the Zenana immediately after it was quitted by the females belonging to Tippoo Sultaun, the apartments were both unornamented and dirty. "The lamps had been placed in niches in the walls, and the oil from each had been permitted to run down to the floor, forming a black stripe the whole way; and the wooden pillars in the largest rooms, and in the verandahs, had lost their colour by grease and dirt."

The buildings erected by the English in India are extremely numerous, arising from the rapid successes of the East India Company. A strange refinement of taste has occasioned the Grecian mode of architecture to be usually adopted by the English builders. Perhaps no mode could possibly be more injudicious. It is observed, by an intelligent traveller before cited, that "the pillars which are generally used by Europeans in the verandahs require too great an elevation to keep out the sun during the greater part of morning and evening, although the heat is excessive at both these periods. In the rainy season it is still worse, as the wet beats in and renders them totally useless."

There can be no doubt of the Hindoo architecture being that best adapted to the vicissitudes of the climate. The small windows usual with Hindoo buildings preserve a grateful coolness, and the compact style in which the

most splendid edifices are constructed, is judiciously calculated to repel the penetrating severity of the periodical rains. It would have been laudable for European artists to introduce refinements in the native architecture of the country; but to have assumed the style of Greece, merely because it is classical, in defiance of every repulsive obstacle raised by climate and situation, is one of the most discreditable circumstances connected with the progress of the art of building in modern times.

A very singular exception to the classical purity cultivated by the generality of European architects in Hindoostan is to be seen in the mansion erected by the late General Martin. This edifice is termed Constantia, and is thus described: "It is a strange, fantastical building, of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fret-work, enormous red lions, with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese mandarins, and ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology. It has a handsome effect at a distance, from a lofty tower in the centre with four turrets, but on a nearer approach the wretched taste of the ornaments only excites contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers, and Grecian pilastres, I believe was never before devised. Within the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco work, painted yellow to imitate gilding."*

The judicious Hindoos must look with contempt on this baby-house of gew-gaws! We trust that there is not much danger of the General's example finding imitators among our enriched countrymen in the east; and it certainly should be mentioned, in alleviation of General Martin's sin against taste, that he entered India as a private soldier, and cannot, therefore, be supposed to have possessed many opportunities of cultivating an accuracy of judgment during that early period at which the notions respecting beauty, in its various modifications, are generally formed.

Martin made, during the early part of life, some little progress in military rank, and also attained (what was to him of still dearer import) a facility in the art of procuring wealth. Nature meant the General to earn a fortune: he was void of all compassion, gratitude, and principle. The history of his life

* A portion of this ridiculous structure has been destroyed by an earthquake.

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is chequered with acts of the greatest infamy, so much so, indeed, that it is not in the remembrance of those best acquainted with him, that any casual flash of generosity or justice was wont to illumine, for an instant, the "vast profound" of such black and frightful iniquity as distinguished his character.

The tomb of this despicable man is in the centre of his favorite house, Constantia. It is a plain marble slab, relating that he came out to India a private soldier, and died a Major-general; and though he nominally died a Protestant, yet, by his special directions, the spectators are, in the last line, requested to pray for his soul! The tomb is placed in an arched vault, the approach to which is by a circular room of large dimensions. On a niche over the tablet is placed his bust, which is said to be like, though he himself was never pleased with it. One of the executors, to show his taste, has placed in niches, four paper grenadiers, with reversed arms, leaning over the tomb!

Enough of Major-general Martin!—The Mussulman government demands our attention; and we hasten, even to the followers of Mohammed, for relief from the painful contemplation of this disgrace to Christian conquerors. It was our design to close the article with a review of the Emperor Akber's life; a subject illustrative of the age in which the Begum Cotsea flourished, and in which her palace was erected, but we are willingly arrested in our purpose by some shining traits in the character of Sultan Mahmud.

Mahmud, the son of Subuctagi, succeeded to the throne of Gazna at the close of the tenth century. Like all the eastern sovereigns of his era, Mahmud's character was disfigured by ferocity, bigotry, and a love of rapine. But these were the inevitable vices of education: the Sultan had virtues which sprang from the heart, and were entirely his own. As a warrior, his successful irruptions into Hindoostan have established him a lasting fame: it is for a love of justice, and an admiration of letters, that we distinguish Mahmud from the crowd of potent Mussulman sovereigns of the early centuries. Concerning his rigid adherence to the dictates of justice, the following story is extracted from an authentic document, by the historiographer of India.

"A person one day, in great agony of mind, abruptly rushed into his presence, while the king was sitting at his tribunal, and called loudly for JUSTICE! Mahmud desired him instantly to declare his complaint. He said that he was a man in but indigent circumstances, but blest with a beau-

tiful wife, whose charms had unfortunately excited the passion of an Omrah of great wealth and rank; that the said Omrah, with armed attendants, came frequently at midnight to his house, and after severely beating him, turned him into the street, while he gratified by force his licentious desires. Tears of resentment and compassion started from the eyes of Mahmud, and he severely reprimanded the poor sufferer for not sooner preferring his complaint. The man replied, that he had often attempted it, but could never gain admittance. 'If,' said Mahmud, 'that Omrah should ever trouble you again, let me know it without a moment's delay.' Then ordering the guard to admit him at any hour, however unseasonable, he dismissed him. The third night following, the former outrage being renewed, the complainant hurried to the palace; but the King having retired to the Harem, was refused admittance. Encouraged by the promises of Mahmud, he now set up the most violent outcries, in hopes that the noise would alarm the court, and reach the King. The attempt succeeded, and Mahmud snatching his robe in haste, followed the poor man to his house, attended by part of his guard. When arrived thither, he immediately ordered the light to be extinguished, and cut the insolent Omrah to pieces. After the execution, he commanded a flambeau to be lighted, and then looked earnestly at the face of the criminal; this done, he prostrated himself, returned thanks to God, and called for some refreshment. The house of poverty afforded no other than some barley bread, and a little stale wine, which, however, the Sultan was contented with, and on the point of returning to his palace, was, after the most fervent expressions of gratitude, humbly solicited by the avenged husband to explain why he ordered the light to be extinguished, why he prostrated himself after the death of the Omrah, and lastly, how the fastidious appetite of a great King could put up with so beggarly a repast? the Sultan with great condescension replied, that after his first complaint he conjectured that none of his numerous subjects, except his own son, would dare to commit an action of such horrible enormity; that determined to sacrifice such an atrocious offender to the justice of the laws, he ordered the light to be extinguished, lest compassion at the sight of so near a relative should arrest his hand in the execution of that justice; that finding it was not his son, he prostrated himself with grateful humility before God; and that he had eaten cheerfully of his repast, however humble, because he had

on the instant of hearing the complaint, made a vow not to eat or drink till he had avenged himself on the base adulterer."

The Rajah of Callinger experienced the benefit of Mahmud's love of letters.

The Sultan, at the head of a tremendous force, threatened the dominions of this prince with devastation. While the preparations for bloodshed were arranging, "the soul of Mahmud," says the historian, "relented, and a circumstance shortly after occurred, that contributed to turn incipient esteem for the Rajah into friendship and admiration. Determined by rather a dangerous experiment to try the valour of the Sultan's troops, Nunda contrived, by certain drugs, to intoxicate the elephants. In this state, without riders, they were urged, furious and precipitate, towards the Sultan's camp; but he, observing the wildness of their motions, instantly conjectured what had been done, and ordered some of his best and bravest horse to attack and drive the enraged animals into an adjoining forest, where they were soon mastered and tamed.

"The game played by the Rajah, on this occasion, was rather of a suspicious nature; but an elegant panegyric composed by him, in Indian verse, and immediately transmitted to Mahmud, on the undaunted bravery of troops who dared to confront, and had skill to reduce to obedience, a train of intoxicated elephants, excited the applause and delight of the whole court; and Mahmud, flattered and gratified by the compliment, not only left him in quiet possession of his own strong fort, but added to it fifteen other inferior ones, which he had reduced in the present and preceding expeditions."

Sir William Jones has stated a circumstance, which must, however, detract from the reputation of the Sultan Mahmud. The story in brief runs thus: Ferdusi, an Indian poet of celebrity, found an ancient volume of Persian history, which he thought amenable to the garb and purposes of a poetical composition. He prepared some episodes, and presented to the Sultan, who commended them highly, and desired him to complete his intention. The poet obeyed, and after the labour of nearly thirty years produced his work, which contained 60,000 couplets, in rhyme, "all highly polished," says Sir William, "and written with the spirit of our Dryden and the sweetness of Pope." The poet eagerly presented his work; but Mahmud "coldly applauded his diligence, and dismissed him." Ferdusi, incensed by neglect, avenged himself in a philippic; taking care to make his escape to Bagdad before his satire met the observance of the despot.

The events of thirty years had, in all probability, banished Ferdusi and his poetical version from Mahmud's remembrance. The period is really too long for human attention to keep on the alert, and who can answer for the poem meriting the solid notice of the Sultan of Ganza? 60,000 couplets on one subject, written with the strength of Dryden and the sweetness of Pope! the idea is absurd. With blind and patient labour, Ferdusi had composed a book (or series of books) which it was not to be expected the Sultan would read, and then he was offended because he did not receive the recompense of genius. The infatuation of the poet is subject of surprise; the conduct of the Sultan appears quite natural.*

The Emperor Akber is the favorite of European writers. It was Akber who sat on the throne when Elizabeth first made commercial overtures to India, and he deserves the praises, not of Europeans alone, but of mankind at large. There is a principle of vicissitude in human occurrences that generally causes men, eminently prosperous and great, to rise from the cradle of turmoil and calamity. Of this the Emperor Akber is a proof. Born in circumstances more adventurous than are usually devised by the penmen of romance, and nursed amid armed contention and political cabal, he stepped forth prepared to meet the rudest shocks of unpropitious fortune, and endued with self-command sufficient to resist the more dangerous blandishments of success. After the important, but unsuccessful siege of Sewen, Humaioon, the second Mogul Emperor, and the father of Akber, was compelled to retreat in the greatest distress. This clement prince, whose virtues were of too soft a character for the possessor of an eastern diadem, now experienced all the pangs which treachery and ingratitude can inflict. He was even denied a few small boats to waft his scanty forces over a river. After repeated endeavours, one of his retinue, by accident, discovered some vessels which had been sunk. These were immediately raised, and the troops passed over the stream. But misfortune had not yet done with Humaioon. A rebellion broke out in his army, and one perfidious chief formed the design of delivering the forlorn king into the hands of the traitor Shere, who had now usurped the reins of the Mogul

* Mahmud's opinion was pointedly expressed in the reward assigned Ferdusi;—the poet received as many small pieces of money as there were couplets in the volumes.

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Empire. Humaioon, discovering the treachery, escaped on horseback, through the darkness of midnight, and fled towards Amercot, attended by a faithful few, whom reiterated calamity strove in vain to separate from his interests. The king's horse fell dead during the flight, through fatigue, and as the pursuit was close, he was fain to continue his track on the back of a camel. The country around now assumed the threatening aspect of a flat and sandy desert. New troubles arose in these cheerless wilds:—no water was to be procured, and the necessity was so great, that some of the soldiers actually ran mad, while the groans and lamentations of others, appeared the harbingers of frightful and unusual death. When a well was found, it proved so deep, that the bucket was a long time rising to the opening. A drum was therefore beaten to announce the appearance of the bucket, that confusion might be avoided, and no time lost. But the famishing soldiers were so eager for relief, that ten or twelve of them unhappily threw themselves on the first bucket that appeared, before it completely reached the mouth of the well. The rope broke, the bucket was lost; and several fell headlong into the water. The screams of despair which succeeded this fatal accident are described as being horrible beyond expression; and how acutely must they have sounded on the ear of the suffering king!—The tongues of some swelled till the mouth would no longer contain them. Many rolled themselves in the burning sand, and cursed the hour that gave them birth, while others furiously plunged into the well, and ended life and misery in one desperate pang!—The next day a brook promised ample consolation; but it contained the source of fresh anguish. So pressing was the fever that preyed on the vitals of these unfortunate men, that moderation was preached to them by their anxious leader in vain. They tried, by inordinate draughts, to appease the caustic rigidity of the palate; then the major part complained of an oppression of the heart and died immediately. It was only a very few that survived to attend the king to Amercot, the Rajah of which district generously received, with more than customary testimonials of respect, the monarch whose hopes and constitution were broken, and who had little remaining to term his own, save the proud inflexibility of his courage.

Amidst this scene of complicated woe, was Akber born. His birth took place at Amercot, in the year 1541. The king publicly returned thanks to God, and was shortly constrained to march with his beloved infant (trebly dear

from fellowship in sorrow, and destined to be the avenger of his family's wrongs) against a threatening body of the rebels. Mischance was still the lot of this persecuted monarch; he was doomed to a lengthened exile, and the baby Akber was retained by a man who had no motive but self-interest for preserving him amid the perils which surrounded his cradle.

The first public action of Akber is highly to the credit of his courage and acquirements. "Upon the last day of Rigib," says the historian, "when the young prince Akber, then only thirteen years of age, was going the rounds of the camp, the Patans suddenly drew up their forces, and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous valour of the young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly, having obtained his father's permission, also drew out the Mogul army. The king took his station in person, in the centre, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The action continued doubtful for a time. The young prince Akber distinguished himself by heroic acts of personal valour. The Moguls were so animated by his example, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortals, and a complete victory was the consequence. This conquest was decisive, and the family of Timur returned to the throne of Delhi."

At the age of fifty-one, an accident deprived Humaioon of life; and the mingled cares and triumphs of government devolved on Akber. He took possession of a distracted country. Various competitors disputed his right to the crown, and a familiarity with rapine and plunder had rendered a great portion of the people unfit for contented subjection and domestic life. It required exalted talent to guide so crazy a vessel in so distempered a season.

The youthful emperor, according to the legend of his reign, himself requested Byram Khan, his guardian, to sustain the weight of administration during the tender years of the legal sovereign. At any rate, Byram undertook the superintendence of public affairs, and the acquiescence of Akber is a proof of that modesty which usually accompanies solid merit.

A dreadful battle was the first event during Timur's administration, in which the insurgent Himu was conquered and deprived of life. Opposite writers give different accounts of his end; one asserts that Himu, when led a captive to the tent of Akber, was destroyed by Akber's own hand. Another says, that, when the rebel was conducted to Akber, faint, wounded, and

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covered with blood, Timur bade the emperor now avenge the injuries sustained by his family, and complete his triumph by inflicting the death-wound of the sturdy traitor; but that Akber burst into tears, and declared himself inadequate to the task. On which Timur severed Himu's head from his body. All histories are deceptive; and, as we have only the choice between possibilities, we do not hesitate to prefer this latter statement. Himu, at all events, appears to have been murdered; and even supposing the act to have been perpetrated by Akber's hand, it is not, perhaps, to be imputed to natural inhumanity. Nothing can be more mutable than the due color of virtue in the local estimation of mankind. Clemency in the west shall be weakness in the east, and honor in the north disgrace at the opposite point, in one and the same period.

During several successful expeditions undertaken by his subjects, Akber now resided at Agra, which he preferred to Delhi, and spent his time in hunting and other amusements suited to the gay season of youth. Still he was not inattentive to the interest of the public, and when his favorite minister, elated by wealth and power, usurped authorities subversive of the national welfare, the Emperor resumed the functions of royalty, and boldly declared the regency dissolved.

The subjugation of the potent fortress of Chitore was the first military adventure of Akber's personal government. This fortress was commanded by *Jamel*, who scorned to outlive the reduction of his fastness, and rushed, sabre in hand, among his opponents, where he perished. The motive might be mixed; but certainly there was much of nobility in Akber's conduct, who placed the statue of the gallant Jamel, together with that of a confederate brother, over the gate of his palace at Delhi.

A war with his own brother Mohammed succeeded; which was no sooner successfully terminated than Akber returned to Agra, solicitous to enjoy the advantages of peace. It was now that the mind of this great man began to unfold itself for the benefit of his subjects. Instead of sinking to the effemacies too frequent with his age, Akber bent his attention to the encouragement of the arts and the internal regulations of his empire.

It is to be regretted that the horrors of war should interrupt deliberations so universally beneficial as those of Akber. His wisdom and awful demeanor

prevented the existence of party-dissention among the nobles of the court, but various distant revolts arrested the career of his vast schemes for the improvement of human kind. The conquest of Guzurat may be adduced as an instance of the facility with which he punished insurrection.

That "vice of nobler souls," *ambition*, was, perhaps, the failing of Akber. The darling object of his meditations was the subjugation of the whole peninsula of India. It would wear the appearance of a faulty attachment to a particular character, if we endeavoured entirely to excuse this seeming thirst after power. But Akber, in the great majority of his actions, assuredly studied the advancement of human happiness, with views so exalted and comprehensive that they often soared above the possible accompaniment of popular capacity. Many of the districts of India had, through a very long succession of years, been embroiled, from the circumstance of their possessing a participation in that dubious blessing *a balance of power*, in detestable scenes of altercation and bloodshed. It is *possible* that one man might boast so elevated a range of thought, as to wish the amalgamation of these rival parties in one great authority, for the obtention of universal peace alone! if any one man were capable of so noble a project, certainly it was Akber.

But this first and dearest wish of the emperor (whatever might be his temptation) was perpetually obstructed by calamities from which no virtue or magnificence is free. The father of his subjects was unhappy in his immediate offspring. The rebellion of his son Selim was the most grievous affliction of Akber's reign. It may seem matter of surprise, that the son of so clement and just a man should harbour intentions inimical to the welfare of his parent. But it must be recollected, that Mussulmen children of rank are consigned chiefly to the tuition of the Harem. Slaves are never the teachers of generosity, and the Mussulmen princes have no opportunity of other instruction.

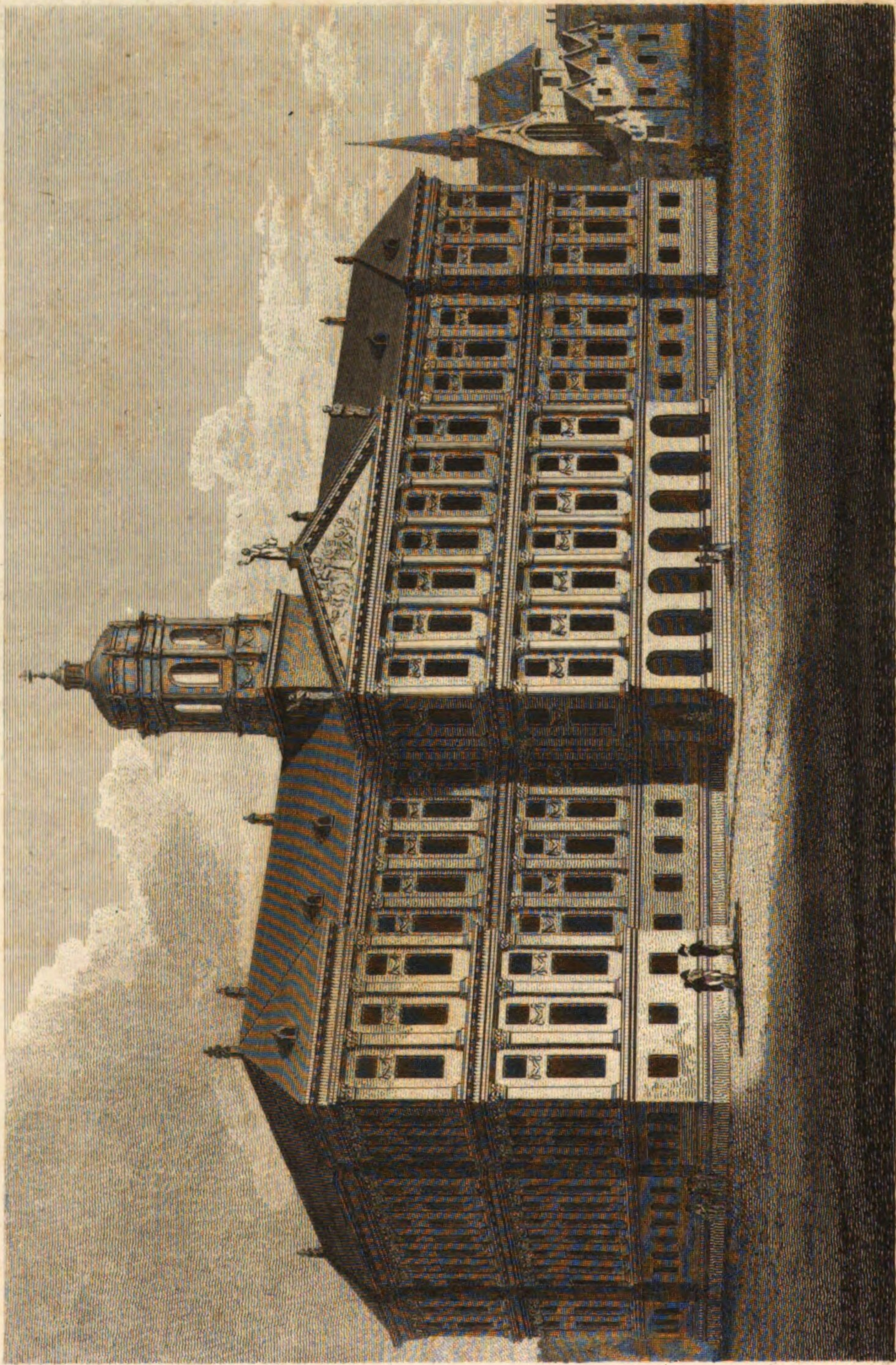
The rebellion of Selim, which took place during his father's absence, inflicted the most severe agony on the sensitive mind of the Emperor. The insurgent had fortified himself in the castle of Allahabad. Thither Akber dispatched letters full of paternal remonstrance, but free from threats, and endeavored, by liberal argument, to wean the prince from his destructive measures. But Selim, surrounded by parasites, returned messages of defiance: and on receiving continued overtures of kindness, instead of hostile opposition, he transmitted

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to his illustrious father some coins which he had caused to be struck in his own name. Still faltering in the work of vengeance, Akber sent for a learned and venerable man to act as negotiator between himself and his son; but, with unparalleled barbarity, Selim waylaid the aged friend of his parent, and massacred him on the road. Indignation now took place of parental forbearance, and the emperor was preparing to march, in all the terror of his arms, against the ferocious contemner of his reverend authority, when news arrived of the death of his third son (Shah Daniel) who fell a victim to disgraceful habits of intemperance. Again the sword fell from his hand, and he resigned himself to the grief of wounded affection. This accumulation of trouble on the head of so good a parent, and so upright a king, overcame even the obduracy of Selim, and he threw himself at the feet of his insulted father. Akber, smarting with complicated injuries, treated this tardy condescension with contumely and reproach. Amazed into virtue, the prince drew his sword, and offered to plunge it into his own breast, as an unworthy expiation of his offence. This act renewed the tenderness of the father, who pressed his child in his arms, and wept a forgiveness.

But the end of Akber approaches!—He invited a powerful noble, whose principles he suspected, to share with him the pleasures of a familiar banquet.* A regale of opium, as usual, succeeded the entertainment, and the pill destined for the visitor was imbued with a deadly poison by command of Akber. By mistake, the salutary dose was presented to the traitorous Omrah; the tainted pill passed the lip of the emperor, and death was the consequence. Finding himself dying, he sent for his son Selim, and ordered his own imperial turban to be placed on the prince's head, and the victorious sword of Humaioon to be girded on his thigh. He then resigned himself to his fate, in the fiftieth year of his reign.

* While we seek not to reconcile crime, we must again remind the reader that conscience derives its character of feeling from custom. We know there are nations where infanticide is in common use, and self-destruction deemed a religious duty. There are also countries in which assassinations are regarded as mere justifiable strokes of policy. It may be, that the people who would not scruple to destroy an adversary by private machination, shudder with horror at the Christian custom of duelling, (so frequently practised in this country) and term us barbarians.



THE STADT HOUSE, AMSTERDAM.

S. Sartorius, fecit.

Proof

Taylor, del.

Descriptive Account

OF THE

STADT-HOUSE, AMSTERDAM,

WITH

Remarks on the Dutch National Character.

ACCORDING to the celebrated Dr. Johnson, any thing that conveys the imagination to the past, or extends it to the future, elevates mankind in the scale of thinking beings : and it must be admitted that the propensity to derive pleasure from the contemplation of antiquities, whether at home or abroad, is one of the most honourable inclinations of the human breast.—Some short account of the Stadt-house, Amsterdam, will therefore not be uninteresting or inconsistent with our plan, and more especially as it will display a magnificence of architecture that is rarely to be met with in any country, though, at the same time, inconsistent in many respects with the established rules of architectural science.

Every nation has its peculiarities—and every man, more or less, feels a particular attachment to his native land ; and, perhaps, no region of Europe evinces a more striking instance of that preference than the country to which the present article refers ; to this day it remains an insalubrious swamp. The population of Holland, considered in reference to its contracted limits, has been extended beyond that of any nation, ancient or modern ; and the loathsome fens by which it is encompassed, have been rendered more productive of wealth than the glowing sands of the Peruvian waters. It is wisely ordained, that where man endures a deficiency of physical advantages, his mental powers should be invigorated in proportion to the exigences of his situation, and that

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he should find in the exercise of these an ample remuneration for local and exterior evil.

It is a self-evident truth, which is confirmed by daily experience, that the individuals of every nation have a character peculiar to themselves—a certain disposition, or rather colour of mind, which, arising either from the physical, or moral circumstances of the country, distinguishes the members of one civil community from those of another. If we were asked the general character of a nation, it might appear something singular to turn to our map, and examine the parallel of latitude. But they must be as little acquainted with the nature of truth as of logic, who, adopting the once celebrated aphorism, that ridicule is the test of truth, should reject every thing as false which may appear ridiculous.

In no country is the national character more prominent than in the marshes of Holland. In no country, perhaps, is it so easy to assign the natural cause of this predominance of those moral qualities which constitute what is called the national character. It is only by the constant and unyielding labour of her inhabitants that Holland exists as a country: it is only to this patience, to this spirit of industry, persevering through every obstacle, that it was in its origin recovered, and in the present day is still maintained, from the violence of the ocean. Nor are its moral causes less suited to produce these national qualities: the history of Holland is that of the contention of tyranny and liberty, of the impassioned efforts of princes, and the calm, regular, and long continued resistance of the people. With this concurrence of natural and moral causes, the national character of the Dutch cannot be any just subject of surprise, nor can we wonder that they have ever been more distinguished for labour than ingenuity; and that this labour, different from that of the Germans, is of a nature peculiar to itself; that it has more of patience than ardour, more of the regular motion of a physical principle, than of the starts of vigour and alternate relaxation, which seem inseparable from every quality of a free agent. It is thus that a Dutchman appears a species of animal machine: his attention, like that of instinct, is fixed to one point, and, like instinct, it accomplishes that point to its utmost perfection. It is an objectionable principle of the new German philosophy, that reason is but a larger instinct. It is certain, however, that the national character of the Dutch appears to confirm this hypothesis.

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In nothing are these national traits more exhibited than in their public buildings; and in none of their public buildings more than in the celebrated Stadt-house.

The Stadt-house was commenced in 1640. It is erected upon a foundation of 13,650 piles of timber. It is built wholly of stone, with pillars of the Corinthian order. Though begun in 1640, and continued without the shortest interval of cessation, with the characteristic perseverance of the Dutch, it was not finished till 1655. Instead of one grand portal, the entrance is by seven small gates, parallel to each other. The front is about 300 feet, its height 116, and the breadth 208. In these several dimensions the rules of proportion are doubtless well observed. Upon the top is a statue of Atlas, in brass, which, in allusion to the commercial power of Holland, and the number and extent of its colonies, bears on its shoulders a globe of gilt copper, which is said much to exceed that of St. Peter's in Rome. The piles, according to the registered account which exists at this day, and is open to public inspection, were purchased from Denmark, at the expence of £100,000; and the whole expence appears, from the same register, to have been little short of a million and a half. As it is only by comparison that we can form an accurate judgment of what by itself is only confused and indistinct, it may not be impertinent to our subject to add, that the most splendid palace in Europe, that of Versailles, cost only £800,000. And that the reader may decide upon the comparative magnificence of the Stadt-house, from these documents of the expences of its building, let him reflect but for a moment upon the different value of the same nominal sum, or, in the language of the œconomist, upon its different adequacy in 1640, and the nineteenth century.

It must be confessed, however, that this expence still falls short of that of St. Peter's at Rome. It stands upon record, that St. Peter's at Rome, with all that is contained in it, has cost near £3,000,000 sterling.

Another trait of the Dutch character is visible both in the structure and application of the Stadt-house. It is at once the most splendid, and, from the incessant activity within its walls, the most useful public building in Europe. The bank, which, till the late revolution, was deemed the richest in Europe, and which has in some degree survived even that shock, is contained under its roof. Here are likewise the courts of justice, the prisons for criminals and debtors, and

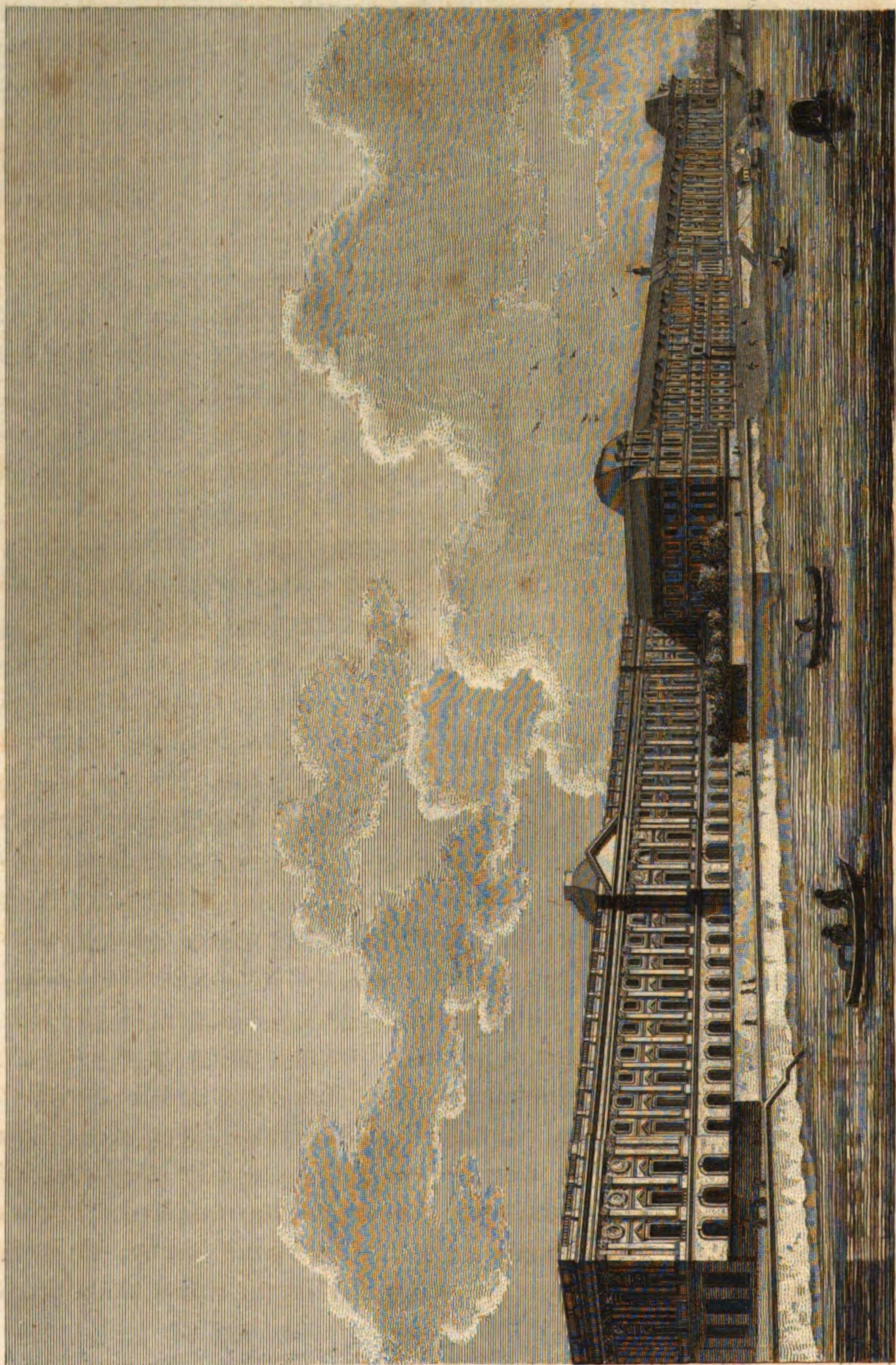
STADT-HOUSE, AMSTERDAM.

the chambers of the senate. Add to this the treasury, the magazine of arms, and, in a word, all the public offices, and the reader may at once form an idea both of the magnitude and utility of the Stadt-house. It is certain that the national character of the Dutch might be intelligibly deduced from this sole structure. In the whole circuit of the Stadt-house not one apartment can be found which is not dedicated to some purpose of business. The hall of the citizens is at once the most active and most spacious. It is paved with the whitest marble, on which are stained the terrestrial and celestial globes; the sides, the roof, and pillars of this apartment, as well as that of the greatest part of the other chambers of the Stadt-house, are all of marble. Something, however, is said to be still wanting; there is not light enough to admire the magnificence of the most splendid apartments. But what is thus lost one way may perhaps be gained another. Sublimity, according to Longinus, is nearer allied to darkness than to light. It is certain, that the emotion produced by the gloom of Gothic architecture is equally awful as pleasing. It should not be omitted in this description of the Stadt-house, that it is better secured from fire than any building in Europe. Eight large cisterns of water are so distributed, and annexed to its roof, that in whatever part a fire might break out, it could be extinguished with equal ease and rapidity. From these cisterns, moreover, are pipes of lead, or leather, to every room within the Stadt-house; these pipes are inclosed within the walls of every apartment, and that they may not have an unpleasing sight to the eye, even their mouths, from which the water must issue, are with equal care hidden under small trap-doors in the floor.

We could scarcely pardon ourselves, and should doubtless but little deserve it from our readers, if we forgot to mention the most celebrated picture in Europe, which still remains in the Stadt-house. It is an historical piece, by Vandyke. The subject of it is a feast given to the Spanish Ambassador by the Burgo-masters of Amsterdam, upon the peace between the two countries. A single figure in this picture, that of a grey-haired old man, has been so much admired, that 7000 guilders were offered to cut out the head. There is another piece, by Vanderhelst, of still superior repute; it was painted in 1748, and represents an entertainment, with the portraits from life, of all the important persons of the city.

Here are likewise the courts of justice, the prisons for criminals and debtors, and

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LOUVRE.

Historical Description

THE LOUVRE.

THIS magnificent structure may, with great propriety, be considered one of the most useful and superb buildings in France. Neither applied to the purposes of personal ambition, nor the intrigues of ecclesiastical politicians, it has, for centuries, been devoted to the nurture of those arts which improve the understanding and refine the heart: yet, surprising as it may appear, the founder of this edifice is unknown; antiquarians have in vain made researches for this purpose. This circumstance has led to a variety of vague conjectures; and assertions so improbable have been made, that they have naturally raised smiles of incredulity; and, suspicion once awakened, truth itself failed to profit by the dignity of its aspect. It is a tedious and important task to disentangle fact from the injurious mazes of misrepresentation, and thereby reduce those circumstances to the level of rational applause, which have been so tortured into wonders or distended to absurdities.

The origin of the Louvre, according to Du Boulay, is to be attributed to the royal line of Merovaeus; others have assigned this honour to Charles the Bald, who terminated his protracted reign A. D. 877.—Rigard, again, positively asserts, that the large tower of the Louvre was built by Pailly Augustus; this certainly is bringing it nearer to our own time; but the doubt yet remains, whether the large tower were the commencement of the building, or merely an addition made to former structure.—Unfortunately, the *name* leads little to

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the discovery.* The French writers, however, who have distinguished themselves in architecture, from the revival of letters to the reign of Lewis XVI. are few in number, and give us no assistance in discovering the antiquity of the Louvre. Among the more excellent we may class the antiquary Philibert de Lorme, who, in conjunction with Jean Bulan, laid the foundation of the palace of the Tuilleries in 1564, and three years afterwards published nine books on architecture. At the distance of a century he was followed by R. Freart, who drew the admired parallel between ancient and modern edifices. In 1681, appeared the Cours d'Architecture by Daviler, from the authority of Barrozze de Vigniola; and seventeen years posterior to this date, F. R. Blondel delivered a course of lectures to the Royal Academy of Painting, compiled from the best writers on the orders; which probably contributed more extensively to the success of the art, than the labours of any other student of his time, if we except Claude Perrault. This last united his strength to that of Philander Barbaro, and Salmasius, in the laborious undertaking to methodise the prolix works of Vitruvius, whose studies alone remain to us of the numerous architects that contributed to the ornament of the Augustan age;—a period not more celebrated for its historians, its orators, and its poets, than for the sublime monuments of this art, the envy of succeeding ages, more beautiful in ruin and desolation than the most magnificent structures of modern times. Great is the ambiguity in which the foundation of the Louvre is involved, whether we consult the history of the sovereigns of France, or the discussions of her artists. We shall with less difficulty narrate its progress, and the anecdotes with which it is connected since the accession of Philip Augustus, when we are no longer resigned to the legends of the monk, and the conjectures of the antiquary.

Whatever uncertainty may involve this structure there is not the smallest

* By most of the French archæologists the derivation of the term is said to be from *œuvre*, with the article making *l'œuvre*; the large proportion of the population of Paris employed in this vast edifice might probably assign it to the name of *l'œuvre*, as the great work to which the public industry was applied: this supposition is favoured by the ancient orthography of the word, which, with the article, was *l'œuvre*; if we suppress the second letter of the diphthong, and exchange the antepenult into *v*, according to the modern French, we have the word *l'ouvre*, precisely agreeing with the appellation.

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doubt but that Philip the Second built that part of it which was called the Grosse Tour du Louvre. Two fortifications of this kind, placed opposite to each other, defended the river Seine in this situation; the one was that which we have just noticed, the other was called the Nesle. During this reign Ferraud, Count of Flanders, a feudatory of the kingdom, revolted from his prince; he was defeated, taken prisoner, and immured within this tower as the place of the greatest security. Otho the Fourth, in alliance with this Count, and his co-vassal the Count of Boulogne, formed a league against Philip. Between Lisle and Tournay stands a small village, named Bouvines: here the hostile armies of the allies and of Philip encountered in the year 1215; the number of the former is reported to have amounted to 100,000 combatants, of the latter only to half that number. The heavy cavalry of Philip decided the victory in his favor; two bishops served in the French king's army; the Bishop of Senlis even ranged the troops in the order of battle: the Bishop of Beauvais hurried amidst the ranks, not armed with steel, but with a club, urging that to spill human blood was inconsistent with his sacred character. This signal victory rendered Philip as famous in the conduct of war, as he was before considered in the arts of peace, and in the intrigues of negociation; he was himself thrown from his horse, and preserved only by the temper of his coat of mail: the Emperor Otho was taken prisoner, but rescued by the valour of his friends; the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne were seized in the hour of battle, but were not so fortunate in their escape. These princes were loaded with disgraceful chains, in the savage spirit of the times; and Ferraud was shut up in this dungeon on the shores of the Seine, in the capital where his family had so lately ruled with kingly authority, if not with the regal title.

The strength of this tower occasioned it, during the reigns of several succeeding princes, to be made the depôt of their wealth. The building is at this day distinguished by the appellations of the old and new Louvre; what remains of the former was founded by Francis First, and at the same time the ancient tower was pulled down. During the reign of this prince, and even much later, learning was confined to the monastic institutions; almost all the Gothic edifices we admire were planned by the superiors, and executed principally by the numerous dependants of the convents; these holy architects were employed by Francis; the plans of the Italian Sebastian Serlio were rejected,

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and those of Clagny the abbot were adopted: the carved ornaments so much admired, were from the chisel of John Gougeon. But, notwithstanding the improvements the structure at this period received, they conducted in a very, small proportion to its regularity and magnificence. Henry the Second supplied this deficiency, and however insignificant the Louvre may appear, when compared with the more modern improvements in the sixteenth century, it was no unworthy specimen of the dignity of the art. In this state, it consisted of three stages, the projections were adorned with columns, and the windows of the second order were much admired by the curious.

Lewis XIII., assisted by James Mercier, erected the pavilion to the south: this work was performed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the prince himself had little concern in the operations of his long reign; they were all conducted under the sole direction of a successful and intelligent priest, who introduced absolute government into France, and laid the foundation of the future grandeur of her monarchs.

The pavilion has a square dome: this form is both unusual and inelegant; the Jesuits' church in the Rue St. Antoine at Paris, is surmounted by a polygonic dome: these deviations are unjustifiable in the artist, and not warranted by any of the splendid remains of antiquity. The pediment of the pavilion is likewise objectionable: the Cariatides support three pediments, two interior inclosed within the exterior: we know no dignified building where this defect is carried so far; in the façade of the church of the Great Jesus at Rome, a lesser pediment is introduced within the tympanium of a larger; the repetition is an abuse of the art. It is true, modern architects have taken great liberties with this part of their buildings; they have sometimes even made them round, but no instance occurs in the antique to justify it, excepting in the chapels of the Rotunda, where the motive for this form is obvious. The design of the pediment is for shelter; the corruption, therefore, of Michael Angelo, in the cut cornice, is the least pardonable; the architects of the Augustan age were so studious of the simplicity of their pediments, that, according to Vitruvius, they did not consider modillions admissible in this species of superstructure.

It has been observed, Cariatides are here employed: this is an order of columns or pilasters under the figure of woman: although it varies from the general simplicity of the ancients, it is found in several of their buildings; perhaps

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the most striking instance of this deviation from the precise rule occurs in the Athenian temple of Erictheus: it must be false in art, because it is a departure from nature; females are not formed to sustain loads: to support baskets or corbelles of flowers, as with the Canephoræ or Cistiferæ, is suited to their inclination and their powers. The origin assigned for this practice is singular. The Greeks having taken the city of Caria, led the women into captivity; and, to perpetuate their servitude, represented them on their buildings in a state of humiliation and laborious exertion. When the Cariatæ are seen in modern architecture, they are not represented as symbols of slavery, but under the images of Justice, Prudence, Temperance, or Fortitude; and the characters they represent are sometimes elegantly adapted to the design of the edifice; the ancients usually tied their hands, and as they were to do the office of columns, by the confinement of their limbs and their garments, they gave them as nearly as possible that appearance: in the hall of the Swiss guards in the Louvre the arms are amputated, but every man of taste will disapprove of such mutilations.

The reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, like that of our third Edward, began in glory and terminated in disgrace. The French monarch was determined to erect a structure which should seem capable of setting at defiance the dilapidations of time and the mutability of human affairs: he was seconded in this bold design by the great Colbert, who neglected nothing that could contribute to national honour or public utility. With such views he raised the superb façade of the Louvre, which has attracted the attention of Europe, and is the most august monument of talent throughout France. To execute this work, Lewis sent to Rome for Bernini: the sketches drawn by this architect are preserved, but his plan was not adopted. It has been asserted, on very disputable authority, that the undertaking was committed to Lewis de Vau of Paris, and after his decease to his pupil Francis d'Orbac, known by his improvements of the Tuilleries. We are not surprised at the competition for the honor of this performance; but we are solicitous the merit should be ascribed to the right artist. Claude Perrault, (the brother of Charles the Poet,) by the indiscreet warmth of Boileau Despreaux, had the misfortune to see his name introduced into the celebrated controversy of the comparative merit of the ancients and moderns, which has in France occasioned almost as much

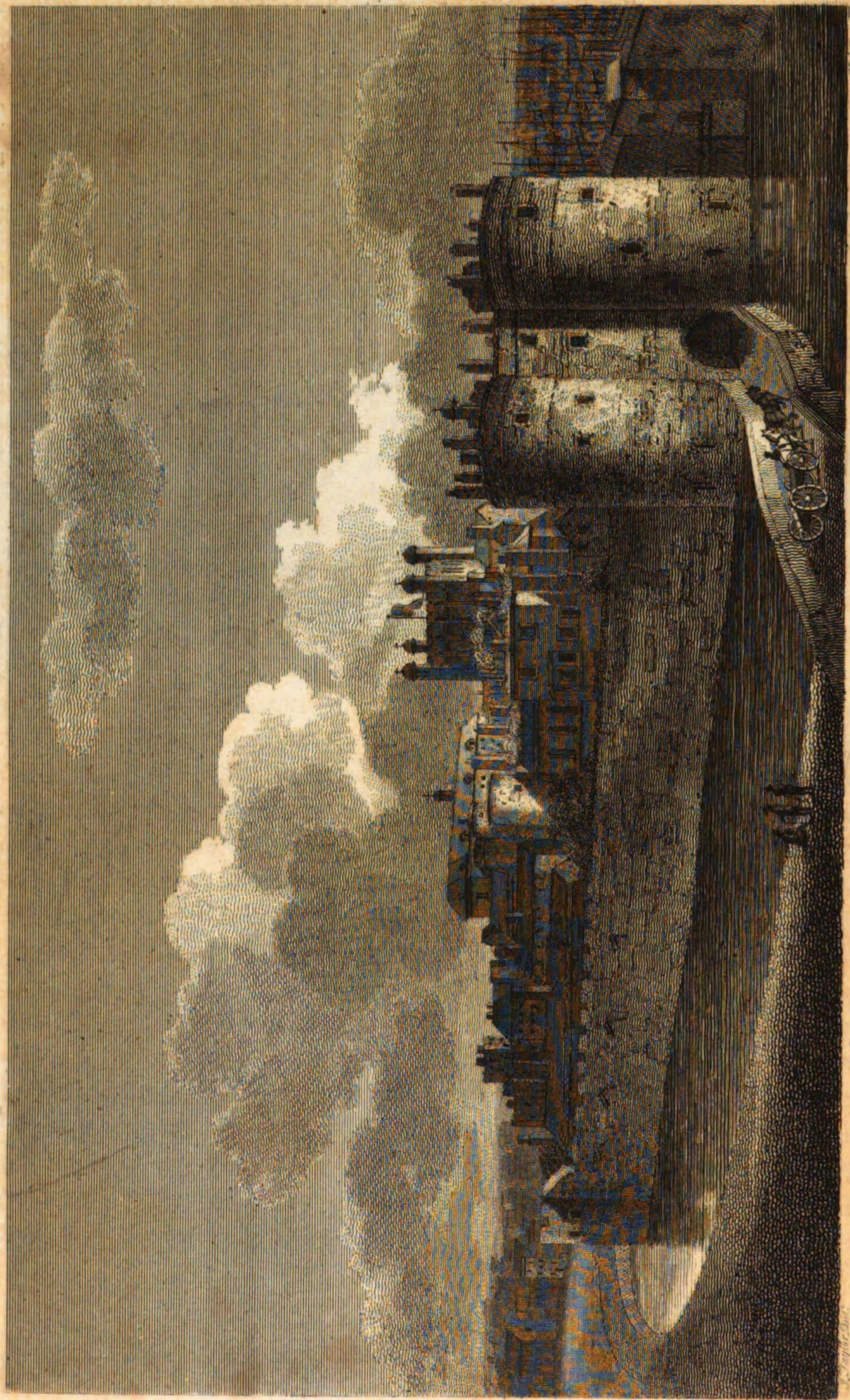
THE LOUVRE.

clamour as the Guelfs and Ghibellines in Italy and Germany. Whether it be on this account that a doubt has been raised, we dare not determine; but we know that, by the most learned men in France, the honor of the design of the façade has been ascribed to Claude Perrault, and even the invention of the machines by which the two stones were conveyed of which the cimaise is formed.

This front is nearly a furlong in length; it consists of one vast polystyle colonnade; it has three projections, one in the centre, and two at the extremes: the former is ornamented with eight coupled columns, and is surmounted with a pediment of singular magnificence, composed of the two stones we have alluded to, each of them being in breadth eight feet, and in length fifty-two. This façade is to the east: above the first tier is a grand system of Corinthian columns with correspondent pilasters. No description can afford ideas approaching to the magnificent effect of this effort of the art. Mercier, in his observations on the Louvre, introduced into the *Tableau de Paris*, has shewn more spleen than discernment, and has made a variety of acrimonious remarks which we think unworthy of laying before our readers.

In all the confusion of civil and external war, the French people have never neglected the protection of the fine arts: wherever their armies have been victorious, (in imitation of an illustrious prince of their monarchy,) they have never waged war with science; their object has uniformly been, in the classic countries where their banners have been unfurled, to preserve and to collect the monuments of talent, and to transport them to their own country, that Paris, and that the Louvre might become the emporium of all the arts useful and ornamental to man.

Our Plate, it will be perceived, exhibits the front of the Louvre towards the river Seine; to the right is a part of the grand façade, and to the left what is called the gallery of the Louvre, an irregular piece of architecture of more than 500 English yards in length, and which extends to the pavilion of the Tuilleries, long the residence of the Chief Consul. One arch of the Pont Royal is also introduced; in this engraving we have not been able to include the whole of the colonnade of Lewis XIV.; but had we solely applied our attention to that part of the building, we must have given a very imperfect sketch of the general structure.



THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Published 1st Aug 1802 for the Monthly Register.

AN

Historical Account

OF

THE TOWER OF LONDON;

WITH A

Description of its Curiosities.

IN the time of the Saxons fortified buildings were so rare that all the war-like ardour of the natives could not account for the deficiency:—yet, from the earliest ages of English history we can scarcely revert to a period when castles or fortresses of some kind or other did not exist; however, from their paucity may be attributed the great facility with which William I. over-ran the country. William, with that despotic tyranny for which he was so peculiarly characterised, compelled the English to erect towers at their own expense, to defray which he levied on them heavy and oppressive taxes. This was done for his own security.

Not only the crown and the lay-barons, but even bishops, were possessed of castles; and though this was contrary to the canons of the church, and was distinctly forbidden by the Pope, yet the ecclesiastics retained their fortifications, and thundered the blessings of the faith from frowning parapets of stone; and this conduct of the clergy is not altogether to be ascribed to ambition. A new regulation of William compelled all bishops and abbots to the service of castle-guard, though they were permitted to exercise the duty by proxy.

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When thus forced into a connection with the military service of the country, a wish for command was certainly natural, and, in some respects, may not be considered illaudable.

In the reign of Stephen, buildings of this description were so multiplied, that there were no less than 1100 castles distributed through the territory of England. If the appointment of authority had been equally divided, it would have given to each castle a domain of ten miles on every side beyond its mote. In consequence of various intestine troubles caused by the fortifications of the feudal lords, it was agreed, in a treaty between Stephen and Henry II. (when Duke of Normandy,) that all castles erected within a certain period should be destroyed. Many were accordingly razed; but the balance of power was so nicely divided between the King and the nobles, that as many castles were as speedily built in one district as were destroyed in another.

Abstruse and laborious dissertations on architecture as an art is not the object of this work. That every nation is laudably proud of its public structures, and of the extent and variety of the decorated piles raised by private affluence, is a truth beyond the power of contradiction. In nothing, indeed, is the progress of refinement so accurately detailed as in the character of national architecture. In the laboured edifice stand recorded the manners, the passions, the avocations of the period. If astronomy may be truly deemed the thread on which the history of nations depends, architecture may as justly be pronounced the popular barometer that precisely ascertains the elevation to which public spirit rises, or the depth of morbid inertia to which, at a particular era, it is capable of sinking.

We have frequently witnessed with compassion, and, indeed, with astonishment, the restless curiosity of a feeble amateur, placed in the capital of a great empire, fatiguing his corporeal and mental frame in remote excursions to discover insignificant objects, when the manners of an illustrious nation, and the monuments of the arts that have stood the revolutions of ages, have been abandoned and forgotten. Whence this perversion of the human intellect? Is that knowledge alone desirable which the few possess? Is this valuable endowment to be resigned to the ridiculous fancies of the virtuoso, who will exhaust his powers by traversing the gelid regions of Sarmatia or the fervid solitudes of Lybia, to obtain a phosphorescent particle, over which he will

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slowly pour forth the dregs of existence, while he forgets the creative orb of heaven, to whose effulgence this glimmering atom owes its lustre? That the great mass of mankind should make any considerable attainments in science while these absurd prejudices exist in the minds of the tribe of connoisseurs, is, indeed, a hopeless expectation, and, until knowledge become an affair of common life and of common business, no sanguine opinions can be justified of any extensive improvement in the condition of human beings.

From such considerations, we now venture to submit to public notice descriptions of adjacent and familiar objects; interspersed occasionally with biographical sketches of the founder, particularly where such descriptions appeared in any way calculated to elucidate the character and purposes of a splendid palace.

The Tower of London, from the Norman conquest to the present time, has been employed as a royal fortress; every part of its history, for a period of more than 700 years, is connected with the most important facts that relate to the government and laws of this country. In this structure we contemplate a monument originally raised to despotism, and in succeeding ages alternately applied to public security and private oppression. It is not by metaphysical subtleties, and by catechisms, and categories on indefeasible rights, that we gain the love of liberty; it is by looking attentively into the history of our own country, by comparing the crimes and the virtues of the agents concerned in it, by directing our indignation against the one, and our admiration toward the other, that we are enabled to cultivate with success this patriotic principle, on which national virtue essentially depends. If our Gallic neighbours had examined more correctly the records of tyranny, in their own annals, instead of despising the experience of past times, and refining with political schoolmen on the crudities of the new philosophy, they would have learnt how to detest the principles of the eleventh Lewis, to respect those of the fourth Henry, and by delivering over the former to public execration, and attracting to the latter public gratitude, they would have established some opinions less evanescent than the logic of modern sophists. It is to divert the attention of our countrymen from this political levity, from this didactic frivolity, to the substantial foundations of British freedom, that we point to the structure where Rochester, More, and Russel, fell victims to religion,

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liberty, and virtue; and where Essex, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock, resigned their forfeited lives to the repose of their country. In whatever excesses vanity may indulge on the heroism of the English name, there was a period when the island became a prey to German pirates, and more recently to a vassal of the French crown. Until the time of Elizabeth, Britain never understood her true interests, and the history of the nation was disgraceful at home and contemptible abroad, excepting during the reigns of the third Edward and of the fifth Henry, when Albion was illumined by a transient gleam of political glory. The rapid conquest of England by the Norman Duke is one of the most extraordinary instances on record of hardihood on the one side, and of pusillanimity on the other. Against the Roman legions the Britons maintained their ground for a long period; with the Saxons we disputed inch by inch the territory of our forefathers; but to the Danes we presented our limbs to be enthralled, and the descendant of the victorious Rollo in a single day reduced us to the condition of the slaves of a slave of the first Philip, and the island of Britain became the island of France, an appendage of a bastard of the Capetian court in the French seas.

William I. built a fortress on part of the present site of the Tower, with the manifest design of intimidating and controuling the citizens of his new capital; and from this transaction we may date the origin of the Tower. The like policy induced him to erect other fortresses in the various provinces of his conquest, and he commanded the emigrant nobility, who were attached to his person, to resort to a similar expedient, as not only conducive to public order, but to private security.* From hence arose the distinction of national and domestic fortresses, of allodial and feudal castles, which, during the successive reigns of virtuous and vicious, of favoured and unfortunate princes, became alternately the friendly means of security and the fatal instruments of destruction.

* Agard, in his Discourse of Castles, says, "For I reade in the historie of Normandie, written in French, that when Sweyne, King of Denmark, entered the realme against Kyng Alred, or Allured, to revenge the night slaughter of the Danes, done by the Saxons in Englande, he subdued all before him, because there were no fortes or castles to withstand or stop him, and the reason yielded is because the fortes of Englande, for the most part, were builte after the Normans possessed the realme."

Rex Gulielmus Conquestor ad castella construenda totam Angliam fatigabat.—Rous. Rot. i.

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The English monks, willing to enclose all authority within the pale of the church, were loud in their complaints against the military lords. William of Newburg said, "there were as many kings, or rather tyrants, as lords of castles." Matthew Paris more indignantly styles these retreats "very nests of devils, or dens of thieves." In the treaty between Stephen and Henry of Normandy, it was a prescribed condition that the baronial fortresses erected within a certain date should be destroyed. John, who was fond of sheltering himself under the papal mantle, procured a bull from Honorius, commanding that no person in England should possess more than two king's castles. These buildings were greatly multiplied during the contests in the wars of the Roses; they were erected in profound solitudes, and on the summits of tremendous promontories. Here the baron, the royal beast of the forest, held his lonely reign, and roamed through the heathy desert; or, perched on a rock, like the imperial eagle, listened unmoved to the boisterous ocean, roaring in the caverns or breaking in hoary waves beneath him. The sanguinary competitors for the British crown being united in the person of Henry VIII. a check was given to this barbarous system. After the Restoration it was completely annihilated.*

The Tower was used as a royal palace occasionally, from its foundation to the time of Elizabeth; during the long period of the civil war, and in the reigns of the more feeble princes, it was, as before observed, a place of safety for the person of the monarch, which recommended it under all the inconveniences of its situation. In the treaty of Runny Mead the barons were too prudent to trust to the promises of the perfidious John, and the security required and

* Many castles were repaired and garrisoned during the reign of Charles I. several of these were destroyed by order of parliament, and others have been demolished by the violence of plunderers, or by the slower dilapidations of time. Besides the abolition of military tenures by public law, to which we have alluded, several other causes contributed to the destruction of these fortresses. The change in the art of war, by the invention of Gunpowder, the settled state of the nation by the union of the discordant families, the increase of luxury, which rendered the feudal dungeon unsuited to modern refinement, and the superiority of the British navy, which secured England from hostile invasion; all these have converted them into a heap of mouldering ruins, which the moralist views with mingled detestation and triumph, and which the artist contemplates with respect, frowning aloft amid the awful scenery of nature.

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obtained for its performance, was the resignation of this fortress into the hands of the haughty negociators. On some occasions we find the *aula regia* to be established here, and the courts of the Tower to be as hostile to the citizens as the garrison. In the reign of Henry II. the offices of justices in *eyre*, or in *itinere*, were appointed. Sometimes the best institutions are perverted to the worst purposes. We are informed by the legal antiquarians, that in the fifth and twenty-eighth of Henry III., Hubert de Burgo, William Eboraco, and others, in the office of justices in *itinere*, held in the Tower pleas of the crown, comprehending such crimes and misdemeanors wherein the king, in his own behalf or that of the public, is the plaintiff. Such judges, wholly under the direction of the court, through the means of false charges and convictions, found it extremely easy to "squeeze the city," so as to extract sufficient supplies for royal prodigality. These artifices occasioned general discontent, and John de Coudres, a municipal officer, was imprisoned in this reign for having merely said, "that the liberty of the city, and the life or limbs of the citizens, ought to be equally regarded." Such were the rights of England in the thirteenth century, while the seal of Magna Charta was yet warm.

We have noticed that the fortress was begun under William I. The architect of the White Tower was the Bishop of Rochester: it has sometimes been called Cæsar's Tower, from an absurd tradition; and by Fitz-Stephen Arx Palatina, with more propriety, from the dignity with which the governor was invested.* In 1092, the ravages of a tempest on this building were repaired by William Rufus and the first Henry; when, for additional security, new walls were raised round it, and some bastions were erected on the shore of the Thames, where was placed the traitor's, or the bloody gate, through which the state-prisoners were conveyed to their confinement.

According to Baker's Chronicle, under Richard I. William Bishop of Ely built the outer wall and formed the fosse, but was not so successful in the levelling as to supply it with the waters of the Thames, according to his intention. Matthew Paris informs us, that at great expence, and very much to the

* It has been said by antiquarians, that a round keep, or dungeon, was denominated a Julliet, from a vulgar opinion that large round towers were built by Julius Cæsar. The remarkable square keep, or dungeon, which was so long the imperial palace of England, and was called a Julliet, or Cæsar's Tower, inclines us to smile at this assumption of the learned.

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dissatisfaction of the citizens, Henry III. improved the fortifications of the Tower, and erected the gate and bulwark toward the city. The order from that prince to the keepers of the Tower for a variety of repairs and embellishments is still extant, and during this reign the menagerie was established.

In the ninth of Edward II. the indignation of the citizens against this imperious neighbour, that threatened them with continued hostility, was so great, that they committed some depredations, and "the mayor and commonalty of London were fined for throwing down the earthen wall against the Tower of London." Edward IV. built a brick-wall, and considerably increased the strength of the fortress; he also erected the bulwark, encroaching yet further on the territory of the city.

Richard III. in the arbitrary spirit suited to his character, ordered the surveyor of the royal works "to take and seize for use, within this realm, as many masons, bricklayers, and other workmen, as should be thought necessary for the hasty expedition of the king's works within the Tower of London."

We must not omit to notice that the Church of *St. Peter ad vincula*, within the Tower, was rebuilt by Edward III. and was for many years frequented by the Kings of England for their devotion. It appears from records, that it was adorned with shrines and images.

Of the other principal buildings within the walls of the Tower, the grand store-house was begun by James II. and finished by King William; and the small armory was entirely built by William.

The right of the city to Tower-hill was long disputed by the Crown. In the reign of Edward IV. some King's officers having erected a gallows and a scaffold for execution, the citizens remonstrated, and the King disavowed the act by Proclamation; since which time all persons executed on Tower-hill, for high-treason, are delivered up to the Sheriffs of London, who preside over the execution there, as in all other places within their jurisdiction.

In the reign of his late Majesty, the ditch which surrounds the Tower received a thorough cleansing, and the brick and stone-work was repaired. It is however a place of no strength.

The extent of the Tower within the wall is twelve acres five roods. The exterior circuit of the ditch, which entirely surrounds it, is 3156 feet. The ditch, on the side of Tower-hill, is broad and deep; on the side next to the

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river it is narrower. A broad and handsome wharf runs along the banks of the river, parallel with the Tower, from which it is divided by the ditch. On the wharf is a platform, mounted with sixty-one pieces of cannon, nine-pounders. These are fired on state-holidays; and in time of war, on all victories gained by the army or navy. At each end of the wharf is a wooden gate, which divides it from the streets, and is open only during the day.

From the wharf into the Tower is an entrance by a draw-bridge. Near this is a cut, connecting the river with the ditch, having a water-gate, called Traitor's Gate, state-prisoners being formerly conveyed by this passage from the Tower to Westminster, for trial. Over Traitor's Gate is a building containing the water-works that supply the fortress with water.

Within the walls of the Tower are several streets, and a variety of buildings.* The principal buildings are the church, the white tower, the ordnance-office, the mint, the record-office, the jewel-office, the horse-armory, the grand store-house, the new or small armory, houses belonging to the officers of the Tower, barracks for the garrison, and two suttlings-houses, commonly used by the soldiers of the garrison.

The white tower is a large square building, situated in the centre of the fortress. On the top are four watch-towers, one of which, at present, is used as an observatory. Neither the sides of this building, nor the small towers, are uniform. The walls are not covered with plaister, but white-washed, as will be supposed from its name.

It consists within of three lofty stories, beneath which are large commodious vaults, used to keep salt-petre in. In the first story are two grand rooms, one of which is a small armory for the sea-service, and contains various sorts of arms, curiously laid up, which would serve upwards of 10,000 seamen. In the other rooms, in closets and presses, are abundance of warlike tools, and instruments of death. In the upper stories are arms and armorers' tools; such as chevaux-de-frize, pick-axes, spades, matches, sheep-skins, tanned hides, &c.

In a room in the white tower, called Cæsar's Chapel, are kept various records of the Court of Chancery, consisting of Bills, Answers, Depositions, and other

* In the suttling-house, the Royal Humane Society have provided a drag-net, &c. in case of accidents on the river.

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proceedings of that court in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. On the south of this chapel are Warrants of Privy Seal from the reign of Edward I. to the year 1483, and many in the reign of Richard III. On the north side are bills under the signet from the reign of Richard II. to that of Charles I. inclusive.

The models of all new-invented engines of destruction, which have been presented to government, are preserved in this tower. On the top is a large cistern, filled from the Thames by a water-engine, which supplies the garrison with water in times of need: it is seven feet deep, nine broad, and sixty in length.

The Mint includes one third part of the Tower, having houses for all the officers employed in the coinage.

The Grand Store-house, which stands north of the White Tower, is a plain building of brick and stone, 345 feet long, and 60 feet broad.

The Jewel-office is a little to the east of the Grand Store-house; it is a dark and strong stone room.

The Horse-armory is a brick building, eastward of the White Tower.

The Record-office is in the Wakefield Tower, opposite the platform. The rolls from the time of King John, to the beginning of the reign of Richard III. are kept here in fifty-six wainscot presses. They contain the ancient tenures of land in England, the original laws and statutes, the right of England to the dominion of the British seas, the forms of submission of the Scottish kings, and a variety of other records, &c.

Parallel to the wharf, within the walls, is a platform called the ladies' line. It is a very fine walk, and is often crowded with well-dressed people in summer.

There are a number of batteries on the walls; but they do not deserve particular notice.

The principal entrance to the Tower is on the west, and is wide enough to admit a carriage. It consists of two gates on the outside of the ditch; a stone bridge built over the ditch, and a gate within the ditch. The gates are opened in the morning with the following ceremony: the yeoman-porter, with a serjeant and six men, goes to the governor's house for the keys; having received them, he proceeds to the innermost gate, and passing that it is again shut.

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He then opens the three outermost gates, at each of which the guards rest their firelocks while the keys pass and repass. On his return to the innermost gate, he calls to the wardens on duty, to take in King George's keys; when they open the gate, and the keys are placed in the warder's hall. At night the same formality is used in shutting the gates; and as the yeoman-porter, with his guard, is returning with the keys to the governor's house, the main-guard, with their officers, are under arms, who challenge him with, *Who comes there?* he answers, *The keys*; and the challenger replies, *Pass keys*. The guards, by order, rest their firelocks; and the yeoman-porter says, *God save King George*; the soldiers all answering, *Amen*. He then goes on to the governor's house, and there leaves the keys.

After the keys are deposited with the governor, no person can enter or leave the Tower, without the watch-word for the night. If any person obtains permission to pass, the yeoman-porter attends, and the same ceremony is repeated.

The Tower is governed by the constable of the Tower, who, at coronations and other state-ceremonies, has the custody of the crown and other regalia. Under him is a lieutenant, deputy-lieutenant, commonly called governor, tower-major, gentleman-porter, yeoman-porter, gentleman-gaoler, four quarter-gunners, and forty warders. The warder's uniform is the same as the yeomen of the guards; their coats having large sleeves and flowing skirts, made of fine scarlet cloth, laced round the edges and seams with several rows of gold lace, and a broad laced girdle round their waists. On their backs and breasts is the king's silver badge, representing the thistle and rose, on which are the letters *G. R.* Their caps are round, flat at top, and tied about with bands of party-coloured ribbands.

The Tower is garrisoned by the guards, and a detachment from his majesty's third regiment.

The Tower is used as a state-prison, and in general the prisoners are confined in the warder's house; but, by application to the privy-council, they are usually permitted to walk on the inner platform, during part of the day, in company of a warder. The whole has recently undergone a thorough repair, and is open as a public promenade only on Sundays.

It would be impossible for us, in this cursory view, to enter minutely into

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the history of those unfortunate individuals to whom this fortress has been the last place of abode ; it would be to detail the vices and the virtues which have either stained or embellished our annals during the reigns of two-and-thirty princes ; all that we can perform is to select a few insulated examples, to expose the spirit of the times and the character of the human mind in some of the most remarkable periods of English history. For this purpose we shall notice three extraordinary examples, which occurred nearly at equidistant periods. The first happened when the intrigues of the court began to govern the popular elections of representatives, and when the obsequious judges formally declared the king to be above all law ; the second in the very year in which the sanguinary laws were passed, comprehended in what has been called the Bloody Statute ; the third, when a similar complaisance to the sovereign was exercised by the judges, and when a similar fate awaited the authority by which they were constituted.

Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundel, was one of the first victims within the precincts of the Tower ; he had conducted himself with bravery in an engagement with the French fleet, and had acquired the love of the country ; the court used the utmost diligence to undermine his reputation ; and, not satisfied with this, they seem to have endeavoured to take away his life by private assassination, under circumstances which strongly indicate the barbarism of the times, for they attempted to make the chief magistrate of the city of London the instrument for the perpetration of this enormity. At a public feast, to which this nobleman and the Duke of Gloucester were invited by the lord-mayor, (Sir Nicholas Exton) poison was to have been administered. The magistrate, shocked with the turpitude of the project, gave private notice to the Duke of Gloucester of the intention, and the diabolical design was frustrated. A short time prior to the deposition of the profligate Richard, a more successful attempt was made on the life of Arundel. In 1397, he and his brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, were accused of treason. The latter pleaded his ecclesiastical privileges, and preserved his life from the vengeance of his enemies : such was the respect for the church, at the time when every principle of religion and morality were disregarded by the court. The charge against the earl was for obsolete attempts against the crown, which had been obliterated by repeated pardons : the pardon granted for six years was annulled, as an act of indiscreet

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precipitation. Arundel, in his defence, pleaded the general pardon he had received, and the especial pardon of his sovereign, and he offered the trial of judicial combat in vindication of his innocence. All was ineffectual: he proceeded to the scaffold, throwing money to the people in his progress; and, on noticing some of his relations, who were present at this solemn spectacle, he said to them, "It had been more decent for you to have been absent, but since you please yourselves with my misfortunes, I can foretel your miseries will be as remarkable as those you see me endure." He then examined the sword, returned it to the executioner with the utmost composure, resigned himself to his fate, and his head was severed at one blow. To the auditors he seemed to have spoken in the true spirit of prophecy, for while his wounds were yet green in the sepulchre, his malicious relatives were sacrificed to public vengeance, and Richard was murdered in the castle of Pontefract.

Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was grand-daughter to George Duke of Clarence, who was brother to Edward IV. In the reign of Henry VIII. when she was seventy years old, she was attainted of high-treason on the most frivolous pretences. Two years elapsed before her execution, when, on the occasion of a trifling insurrection in Yorkshire, which was falsely attributed to her, this hoary and venerable woman, the last descendant of the royal line of Plantagenet, was brought to the scaffold. She possessed an undaunted mind, and had resisted the introduction of the creed of the mutable Henry amongst her dependants. The fears of the most absolute prince in Europe could not be alarmed by this decrepid competitor, had she aspired to the crown; but the pedant pride of the defender of the faith was mortified by her resistance to his tenets; to enslave the body was not sufficient, the quibbling bigot would extend his empire over the mind. Having ascended the scaffold in the Tower, she was commanded to lay her head on the block; she replied to the mandate, "So should traitors do, but I am none." No persuasions would avail; she told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must secure it as he could, and she turned herself in every direction to avoid the blow, her grey hairs floating in the wind. Under these circumstances she was massacred by the man of blood, and exhibited one of the most hideous scenes that was ever exposed during a public execution.

Whatever might be the merits of the question with respect to the political

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contests that occurred during the interregnum, the spirited discussions occasioned the diffusion of opinions favorable to the rights of the people, which having once transgressed the boundary crafty tyrants had prescribed, proceeded with the impetuosity of a torrent, and forsaking the channels through which they advanced, overspread the face of England. This general inundation could not be restored to its former limits by the re-establishment of royal power, but when the reins of government trembled in the feeble grasp of James II. in the person of Jeffries, an agent of legal murder was found as profligate as Tresilian in the reign of the son of the Black Prince. The times had changed, while the character of the government was the same: three centuries had elapsed, the art of printing had been invented, the feudal system had been destroyed, and men had been informed that they were fitted as well for active as for passive duties. Such was the state of society when the Duke of Monmouth rose into notice.

The vagrant affections of Prince Charles, eleven years prior to his acquiring the regal authority, were directed to Lucy Walters, and the offspring of this connection was a boy, whom they named James Scot. This was the first time that indulgent nature had granted a progeny to his wishes, and Charles felt all the paternal tenderness. The child was born at Rotterdam, in 1649, was afterwards sent, for his education, under the direction of the queen-mother to Paris, where the sensibility of his heart, and the beauty of his form, made an irresistible impression on every one who approached him. In his fourteenth year he was received at Hampton Court, by his father, with that ardour of affection not unusual with princes, who are precluded from the enjoyments of friendship, and find a consolatory substitute in the ties of blood. Sufficient time had been given to moderate the public expectation with respect to the father, but all the fair promises of the son were fully performed. His powerful attractions justified the royal favor; he was successively created Duke of Orkney and Monmouth; he was invested with the order of the garter; the notice of the court was not confined to titular distinctions; he was advanced to posts of honour and emolument, and he received from the hand of Francis Earl of Buccleugh, Anne, his lovely daughter, who was acknowledged to be the greatest fortune and the finest woman in the three kingdoms. Added to all these recommendations, he acquired military fame in the service of his father, and

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such was the discredit of the Duke of York, the presumptive heir to the crown, and so easily can public credulity be imposed upon, where inclination favours the delusion, that the legitimacy of this gallant youth was generally believed, and a story was successfully propagated of a certain black box, which was secretly preserved, and contained a contract of marriage between Charles and his favorite Lucy.* Thus was the young duke honoured not only with royal indulgence, but his generous heart was gratified by the confidence and affection of a brave people. Five years elapsed between this period and the accession of James, when the versatility and fondness for novelty, so frequently exhibited in the Athenian state, visited England, and assisted the cause of the Duke of York. By promises, which are liberally made when not designed to be performed, he gained the reputation he did not deserve: the parliament granted him a revenue, which rendered future parliaments unnecessary, and the infamous Jeffries was nominated lord-high-chancellor of the realm, and not only civil but military agents were quickly appointed, who would have disgraced the government of the savage Ethiop.† To prevent the enormities which threatened the extinction not only of every valuable sentiment, but of every valuable life in the country, Monmouth, goaded onward by the restless importunity of his friends, landed at Lyme, from the Texel, with arms and ammunition, but with followers so few in number that they might have been seized and inclosed in an ordinary watch-house. His force soon increased to five or six thousand men; but, instead of giving a decisive blow with the sword,

* She is repeatedly styled his *wife*, in letters to him from his sister the Princess of Orange, who makes this curious apology for Lucy's intriguing with other men: "'Tis a frailty, they say, is given to the sex, therefore you will pardon her, I hope." SECRET HIST. CHA. II.

† Colonel Kirke was one of these military instruments; he had served against the Moors. From the numerous instances of barbarity we will only select the following from Hume: "A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her: the tyrant was inflamed by desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she would, in her turn, be equally compliant with him. The maid yielded to the condition, but next morning, after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage shewed her, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanged on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there ready for his execution. Rage, despair, and indignation, took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses."

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he employed his pen in tedious manifestoes, and after a most indiscreet delay, he attacked the King's troops at Sedgemoor, where he was defeated with great slaughter, and where he sullied his reputation by abandoning his companions in arms before the victory was finally decided. From thence he rode as far as his horse could support him; he then arrayed a peasant in his own military trappings and honorary insignia, and assumed the rags of the countryman, and, with a German attendant, laid down in a ditch, concealing himself under a quantity of fern. Perhaps the vanity of the peasant, consoling himself by momentary adulation for habitual servility, exposed him to notice, and gazing with a self-complacent stare on the gorgeous attire, he was rendered an easy captive. Confession was soon extorted. A dog belonging to the pursuers discovered the lowly retreat: Monmouth was seized, and disgraced himself by ignoble tears, and by clinging round the fond expectation of life.

The King had the indecency to hold a personal interview with him after his death was fully determined; but James's endeavor, on this occasion, to discover his accomplices, was ineffectual: the unfortunate victim, if not above the fear of death, was superior to private treachery. He was executed on Tower-hill, and it seems the human butcher was unfit for his employment. The Duke, who met his fate at this crisis with heroism, had given him a moderate reward, had cautioned him against conducting the business in the slovenly way under which Russel had suffered, and told the man where a further gratuity was ready if he boldly and skilfully performed his duty. The executioner was intimidated; he struck a feeble blow, when Monmouth raised his head, and looked him in the face; he gently laid his head down again, and a second time the executioner struck to no purpose; when throwing away the axe in despair, he declared himself incapable of finishing the bloody deed. The sheriff interfering, compelled him to renew the attempt, a third and a fourth blow were received by the mangled carcase before the head was severed from the body. The Duke, at the time of his decapitation, was only thirty-six years old, and the attachment and credulity of the people was so extravagant, that they persuaded themselves some person had offered himself up at the shrine of friendship and patriotism, and that Monmouth yet lived to rescue Britain.

Stuart was more merciless than the tyrant of Syracuse, and the fidelity of

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Damon and Pythias was not revived, yet by a singular coincidence in history, the popular expectations were not wholly disappointed. Three years posterior to this event, a native of the same country, embarking from the same shores, entered England a successful candidate for the same imperial crown which was wrested from the head of the prince to whom Monmouth was sacrificed.

Having briefly passed through our Historical Account of the Tower of London, we presume it will not be uninteresting to the reader to give some account of its Curiosities, with the Prices of seeing them.*

The Lions, and other Wild Beasts, &c.

These are kept in a yard on the right hand, at the west entrance. A figure of a lion is over the door, and there is a bell at the side to call the keeper. The visitor pays *one shilling* here, for which the keeper shews him all the wild beasts, &c. explaining their several histories. The principal of these at present in the Tower, are:

1. *Miss Fanny*, a fine lioness, but discovers so much ferocity, beyond that of any other lion in the Tower, that the difference of disposition in the same species is in this instance very striking.

2. *Young Hector* and *Miss Jenny*, a lion and lioness, from the Gulph of Persia, three years old, of the same litter, presented to his Majesty by the late Marquis Cornwallis on the 6th of March, 1800. These are extremely fine animals.

3. A young *Lion* and *Lioness*, sent to her Majesty by the Emperor of Morocco.

4. Two African *Lionesses*, a present from the Dey of Algiers to the King, and brought to the Tower in October 1800.

5. A fine young *Lion*, a present from the Emperor of Morocco to the Duke of Kent, and extremely tame and docile.

6. *Traveller*, a panther from Algiers.

7. *Miss Peggy*, a black leopardess. This animal is a great curiosity: al-

* We are indebted to a little work entitled the "Picture of London," published by Sir Richard Phillips, for these observations; for the accuracy of which we hope the name and celebrity of Sir Richard will be deemed a sufficient guarantee.

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though her skin is black, it is varied with spots of a deeper black, and her form is the most delicate that can be imagined.

8. *Miss Nancy*, a bright spotted leopardess. Both these animals were sent from Anjengo, by Governor Hutchinson, in 1799.

9. *Duchess*, a remarkably handsome leopardess brought from the Malabar coast, presented to his majesty by Lord Carlisle. The brightness of the colours of this animal is beautiful in the extreme.

10. *Miss Maria* and *Master Bobby*, a leopard and leopardess from Prince of Wales's Island, in the East Indies.

11. *George*, a leopard presented to the Prince of Wales, by Mr. Devaynes.

12. *Harry*, a royal tyger, from Bengal, and one of the finest ever seen, given by Mr. (now Sir Evan) Nepean in 1791. This noble animal is very tame, and is fond of a little dog, which often plays with it in the den.

13. A curious *Ring-tailed Tyger*, from Bengal, presented to her majesty by Admiral Rainier.

14. A *Wolf*, from Mexico, presented by Admiral Masserano to Lord St. Vincent, and by him to his majesty.

15. A *Spotted*, or *Laughing Hyena*, from the Cape; presented by David South, Esq.

16. A *Racoon*, bred in the Tower.

17. A very large *African Deer*, from the Cape of Good Hope, presented by General Dundas, and the only one ever brought to England.

18. A large *Greenland Bear*.

19. *Ant Bear*, from Canada. This is a curious animal, and is extremely gentle.

20. A *White Fox*, from Owhyhee.

21. A *Jackall*.

22. A large *Eagle of the Sun*.

The care taken by the keepers to prevent injury to the visitors, is very great; and the wholesome cleanly condition of the dens deserves praise. The dens are very commodious. They are about twelve feet in their whole height, being divided into an upper and lower apartment; in the former they live in the day and are shewn, and in the latter sleep at night. Iron-gratings inclose the

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front of the dens, most of which have been recently rebuilt, with every precaution to prevent accidents.

These animals are, in general, very healthy. It is remarkable that those which have been whelped in the Tower are more fierce than such as are taken wild: strangers should be cautious not to approach too near the dens, and avoid every attempt to play with them.

A considerable augmentation has been made, of late years, to this department of the Tower. But from the various changes to which descriptions of this kind are, of necessity, subject, it is impossible that they can be otherwise than erroneous after any lapse of time; and even whilst we are now writing, a variety of circumstances may contribute to render our present account incorrect.—We have, however, availed ourselves of the most accurate and respectable sources for our information, and have presented the result of our researches to the readers of this work.

Spanish Armory.

Here the visitor is shewn the trophies of the famous victory of Queen Elizabeth over the Spanish Armada. Among these the most remarkable are the *thumb-screws*, intended to be used to extort confession from the English where their money was hidden. In the same room are other curiosities; among which is the axe with which the unfortunate Anne Bullen was beheaded, to gratify the capricious passions of her husband, Henry VIII. A representation of Queen Elizabeth in armour, standing by a cream-coloured horse, attended by her page, is also shewn in this room. Her majesty is dressed in the armour she wore at the time she addressed her brave army, in the camp at Tilbury 1588, with a white silk petticoat, ornamented with pearls and spangles.

Small Armory.

This is one of the finest rooms of its kind in Europe. It is 345 feet in length, and in general it contains complete stands of arms for no less than 100,000 men. They are disposed in a variety of figures, in a very elegant manner. A piece of ordnance from Egypt has been lately added, sixteen feet long, and seven inches and a half bore.

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Other curiosities are shewn in this room ; among which are arms taken at various periods from rebels ; the Highland broad-sword deserves particular notice. In many respects this room may be considered as one of the wonders of the world.

The Volunteer Armory.

This is in the White Tower, and contains arms piled in beautiful order for 30,000 men, with pikes, swords, &c. in immense numbers, arranged in stars and other devices. At the entrance of this room stands a fine figure of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in bright armour, and having the very lance he used in his life-time, which is 18 feet long.

The Sea Armory.

This is also in the White Tower, and contains arms for nearly 50,000 sailors and marines. In this room are two elegant pieces of brass cannon, presented by the City of London to the Earl of Leicester, and various similar curiosities.

Royal Train of Artillery.

Part of this is kept on the ground-floor, under the small armory. The room is 380 feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-four in height. The artillery is ranged on each side, a passage ten feet in breadth being left in the centre. In this room are twenty pillars that support the small armory above, which are hung round with implements of war, and trophies taken from the enemy.

There are many peculiarly fine pieces of cannon to be seen here ; one (of brass) is said to have cost £200 in ornamenting. It was made for Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. Others are extremely curious for their antiquity. Among them is one of the first invented cannon. It is formed of bars of iron, hammered together, and bound with iron-hoops. It has no carriage, but was moved by six rings, conveniently placed for that purpose.

Horse Armory.

This is a noble room, crowded with curiosities that will highly gratify the visitor. The armour of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and son of Edward III. is seven feet in height. The sword and lance are of a propor-

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tionable size. A complete suit of armour, rough from the hammer, made for Henry VIII. when eighteen years old, is six feet high.

The kings of England, on horseback, are shewn in the following order:

1. *George II.* on a white horse, with a sword in his hand. His armour is richly gilt; the horse has a Turkish bridle gilt, with globes, crescents, and stars: velvet furniture laced with gold, gold fringe, and gold trappings.

2. *George I.* in a complete suit of armour, on a white horse, with a truncheon in his hand. The horse has a Turkish bridle, gilt, with a globe, crescent, and star; the furniture is of velvet, laced with gold, with gold trappings.

3. *William III.* on a sorrel horse, with a flaming sword in his right hand. The horse's furniture is green velvet, embroidered with silver. His suit of armour was worn by Edward the Black Prince, in the famous battle of Cressy.

4. *Charles II.* has a truncheon in his hand, and his horse is decorated with crimson velvet, laced with gold. His armour was worn by the champion of England, at the coronation of George II.

5. *Charles I.* His suit of armour was a present to him from the city of London, when he was Prince of Wales, and is curiously wrought and gilt.

6. *James I. of England*, and *VI. of Scotland*, has a truncheon in his right hand, and his armour is figured.

7. *Edward VI.* in his right-hand bears a truncheon. He has a very curious suit of steel armour; on which, in different compartments, are depicted a variety of scripture histories, alluding to battles and other memorable facts.

8. *Henry VIII.* is in his own armour of polished steel, with the foliages gilt, or inlaid with gold; and has a sword in his right-hand.

9. *Henry VII.* A sword in his hand; his armour is of curious workmanship, and washed with silver.

10. *Edward V.* In his right-hand holds a lance; his armour is finely decorated. The crown is hung over his head, because he was proclaimed king, but never crowned.

11. *Edward IV.* Has a sword in his right-hand, and his armour is studded.

12. *Henry VI.* Crowned king of France at Paris.

13. *Henry V.* The conqueror of France: the companion in his early days of the celebrated Sir John Falstaff.

14. *Henry IV.* Son of John of Gaunt.

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15. *Edward III.* In a suit of plain bright armour, with a venerable grey beard. On his sword are two crowns, alluding to his being crowned king of France and England.

16. *Edward I.* Has a battle-axe in his hand. His armour is gilt, and his shoes are of mail.

17. *William the Conqueror.* His armour is quite plain.

For the *Spanish Armory, Small Armory, Train of Artillery, and Horse Armory*, the price is *one shilling* only.

Jewel-office.

This is shewn for *one shilling* each person in company; a single person pays *one shilling and sixpence*. Its curiosities are:—

1. *The imperial crown*, with which the kings of England are crowned. It is of gold, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and pearls; within is a cap of purple velvet, lined with white taffety, and turned up with three rows of ermine.

2. *The golden globe.* This is put into the king's right-hand before he is crowned; and when he is crowned, he bears it in his left-hand, having the sceptre in his right, upon his return into Westminster Hall. It is about six inches in diameter, edged with pearl, and ornamented with precious stones. On the top is an amethyst, of a violet colour, in height an inch and a half, set upon a cross of gold, and ornamented with diamonds, pearls, &c. The whole ball and cup is eleven inches high.

3. *The golden sceptre*, and its cross, upon a large amethyst, decorated with table diamonds. The sceptre has a plain handle, but the pommel is surrounded with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. Each of the leaves of the *fleur-de-lis*, rising from the top, of which there are six, is enriched with precious stones; and from them issues a ball which is made of part of the amethyst. The cross is covered with precious stones.

4. *The sceptre*, with the dove, the emblem of peace, resting on a small Jerusalem cross, which is decorated with jewels and table-diamonds, of great value.*

* A bold attempt was made in the reign of Charles II. to carry off these ensigns of royalty. The projector of this robbery was COLONEL BLOOD. He disguised himself in the habit of a

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5. *St. Edward's staff.* It is four feet seven inches and a half long, and three inches and three quarters round, made of beaten gold. It is borne before the king in the coronation-procession.

6. *The gold salt-seller of state.* In make it resembles the square White Tower, and is of excellent workmanship. At the coronation it is placed on the king's table.

7. *The sword of mercy.* It has no point; the blade is about two inches broad, and thirty-two inches long. At the coronation it is carried before the king, between the two swords of justice, spiritual and temporal.

8. *A grand silver font,* double gilt, and elegantly wrought. This is used for christenings of the royal issue.

9. *A large silver font,* a present from the town of Plymouth to Charles II. It is curiously wrought, but not equal to the other.

10. *The crown of state,* that his majesty wears in parliament. It has a pearl, the finest ever seen; a ruby of inestimable value; and an emerald seven inches round.

11. *The crown which is placed before the Prince of Wales in Parliament,* to shew that he is not come to it.

When the king goes to the parliament-house, the keeper of the jewel-office, attended by warders of the *Tower*, privately carry, in a hackney-coach, the two last-mentioned crowns to Whitehall, where proper officers are appointed to

doctor of divinity, except the gown, in lieu of which he chose rather to wear a cloak, as more proper for his design. Having in this disguise made it his business to form an intimacy with the keeper of the regalia, Talbot Edwards, whom he treated and caressed, the doctor told Edwards, who was a very old man, that he had some friends at his house that wished to see the regalia, but that they were to go out of town pretty early in the morning, and hoped he would gratify them with the sight a little before the usual hour. These pretended friends were Blood's accomplices, and accordingly two of them, accompanied by the doctor, came about eight in the morning. Old Edwards received them with great civility, and admitted them into his office, when Blood and his accomplices knocked him down with a wooden mallet and gagged him. They then instantly made flat the bows of the crown, to make it more portable, seized the sceptre and dove, and putting them into a wallet, were preparing to escape, but the old man's son, who had not been at home for ten years before, having been at sea, came at the instant, and seeing his father weltering in his blood and the regalia gone, he instantly alarmed the guard; the gates were shut, and the thieves secured.

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receive them ; who, with some yeoman of the guard, carry them to the rooms, where his majesty and the prince robe themselves. When they are disrobed, the crowns are conveyed back to the *Tower* by the persons who brought them.

12. *Queen Mary's crown*, globe, and sceptre ; and the diadem she wore proceeding to her coronation with King William.

13. *An ivory sceptre*, with a golden dove enamelled with white, perched on the top, the garniture of which is gold. It was made for the queen of James II.

14. *The golden spurs*, and the *bracelets for the wrists* ; they are very ancient, and worn at the coronation.

15. *The golden eagle*, which contains the holy oil for anointing the kings and queens of England. The head screws off in the middle of the neck, which is made hollow to hold the oil ; and when the bishop anoints the king and queen, he pours it from the bird's beak into a spoon. The eagle and pedestal on which it stands are about nine inches high, and the expansion of the wings is nearly seven inches ; the weight of the whole is about ten ounces, and is curiously engraven.

16. *The golden spoon*, into which the bishop pours the oil. These two pieces are very ancient.

In this office are all the crown jewels, worn by the princes and princesses at coronations ; and abundance of curious old plate. Independantly of several of the jewels, which are inestimable, the value of the precious stones and plate contained in this office, is not less than two millions sterling.

The Mint.

Visitors are not permitted to see any part of the *Mint*. The manner of stamping is performed by an engine, worked by a spindle like a printing-press. To the point of this spindle is fixed, by a screw, the head of the dye ; and, in a cup beneath, which receives it, is placed the reverse. The piece of metal being cut round to the size (and, if gold, exactly weighed) is placed between the cup and the point of the spindle, and by one stroke of the spindle the stamp is complete. The manner of stamping gold, silver, and half-pence, is

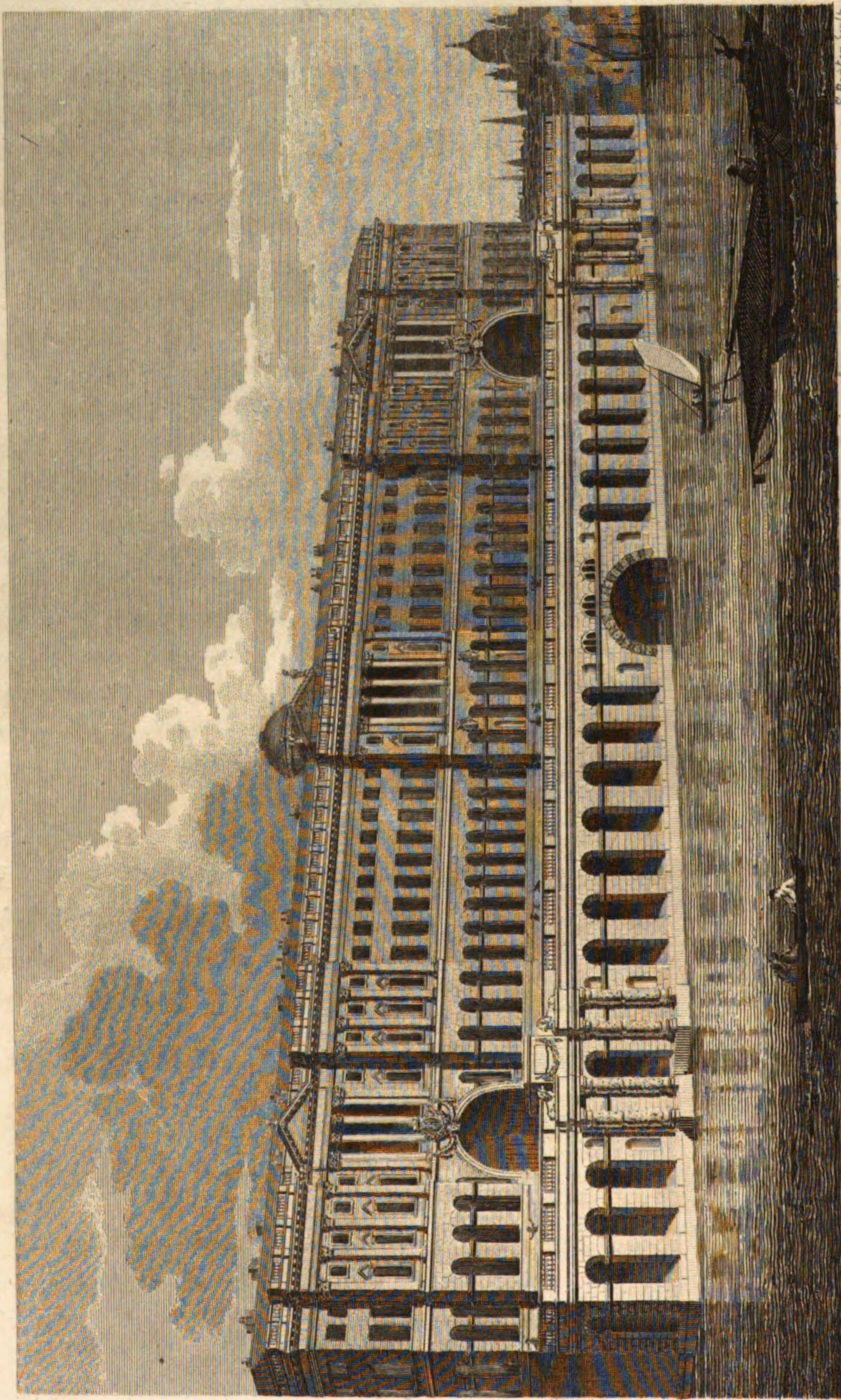
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exactly the same. The silver and gold are previously milled round the edges, which is done privately.

The Chapel.

The chapel, situated at the north end of the parade, is a small low building ; it contains a few ancient monuments. Near the gallery-stairs, two alabaster figures are elevated on a tomb ; on the inscription around, in the old characters, the name of *Cholmondeley* is visible ; here were interred the celebrated Lords Kilmarnock, Lovat, and Balmerino. Near the altar are monuments of Sir Michael Blount, who died in 1592 ; Samuel and Mary Payler, 1646 ; and Sir Allen Apsly, Knight, 1630 ; with some account of their marriages and issues. On a flat stone is an inscription in memory of Talbot Edwards, who was keeper of the regalia when Blood stole the crown. He died in 1674, aged 80. The chapel otherwise forms no object of attraction ; it may be seen by applying to the pew-opener, at any time, for a small fee.

From the preceding description, it will be perceived that the Tower of London is a depository of some of the greatest curiosities of this, or any other country :—and when we contemplate on the White Tower, Ordnance-Office, Mint, Record-Office ; Jewel-Office, Spanish-Armory, New or Small Armory, Volunteer-Armory, Sea-Armory, Horse-Armory, Royal Train of Artillery, Grand Store-House, Houses belonging to the Officers of the Tower, Barracks for the Garrison, and the two Suttling-Houses, commonly used by the soldiers of the garrison, (as before observed) it may justly be pronounced the greatest and most useful depôt of Great Britain.



S. Porter Sculp

SOMERSET HOUSE

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J. Taylor del

A

DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

SOMERSET-HOUSE,

Interspersed with a variety of curious Particulars concerning Protector Somerset, and others connected with this Building.

EVERY European State can boast its palaces and pavilions, the seats of regal splendour and national munificence. In this respect, the East may vie with the more favored territories westward; while, in every variation of clime, the mansions of polite or warlike nobles emulate the grandeur even of regal splendour. To England appertains a boast, perhaps still more gratifying—a costly and immense Public Building, in which art and science, on one hand, hold their court; while, on the other, the chief official resorts, connected with the routine of general business, are concentrated.

The increase of commerce, and the correspondent exaltation of the arts, had long suggested to several persons of power and discernment, the propriety of such an edifice. The course of those various interchanges, to which property is so peculiarly subject in a commercial country, had vested in the Crown the possession of the site where the palace of the Protector Somerset formerly stood; which, in time, became reduced to a mere fragmentary and useless memorial of departed greatness; and was ultimately allotted to the service of

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the arts, and the gratification of national ambition, which, in every point, was admirably adapted to those purposes.

That part of the Strand on which Somerset-house stands, may be denominated nearly central, in regard to the various offices which the building combines. The adjacency of the Thames must be considered a prominent advantage, as relating both to the utility and beauty of the structure; while the very extensive character of the Protector's buildings, and the spaciousness of the gardens which appertained to his mansion, afforded ample room for every architectural effort that splendour or convenience might suggest.

In the year 1774, an Act of Parliament was obtained for embanking the River Thames before Somerset-Place, and for building on the ground thereof various specified public offices.

The liberal countenance bestowed by the King on Sir William Chambers, (who was then Master of the Board of Works) readily accounts for the nomination of that architect to the superintendence of the projected edifice. After a design of Sir William's, the building was begun; and, though never entirely completed, it must certainly be allowed, in many respects, to redound to the credit of his taste and ingenuity.

Somerset-House occupies a space of 500 feet in depth, and nearly 800 in width. This astonishing extension of site is distributed into a quadrangular court, 340 feet long, and 210 wide, with a street on each side, lying parallel with the court, 400 feet in length, and 60 in breadth, leading to a terrace (50 feet in width) on the banks of the Thames. The terrace is raised fifty feet above the bed of the river, and occupies the entire length of the building.

The Strand-front of the building is no more than 135 feet long. In so small a compass, no exalted flights of fancy were to be expected from the artist; but all that candour could desire has been performed. The style is eminently bold and simple; and may be safely affirmed one of the best modern attempts to unite the chastity and order of the Venetian school, with the majesty and grandeur of the Roman. This division of the building consists of a rustic basement, supporting Corinthian columns, crowned in the centre with an attic, and at the extremities with a balustrade.

Nine large arches compose the basement; the three in the centre are open, and form the entrance to the quadrangle; the three at each end are filled

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with windows of the Doric order, and adorned with pilasters, entablatures, and pediments. The key-stones of the arches are carved, in *alto relievo*, with nine colossal masks, representing Ocean and the eight chief rivers of Great Britain, viz. Thames, Humber, Mersey, Dee, Medway, Tweed, Tyne, and Severn; all decorated with suitable emblems.

Above the basement rise ten Corinthian columns, on pedestals, with regular entablatures, correctly executed. Two floors are comprehended in this order; the windows of the inferior, being only surrounded with architraves, while those of the principal floor have a balustrade before them, and are ornamented with Ionic pilasters, entablatures, and pediments. The three central windows have likewise large tablets, covering part of the architrave and frieze, on which are represented, in *basso relievo*, medallions of the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, supported by lions, and adorned respectively with garlands of laurel, of myrtle, and of oak.

The attic extends over three intercolumniations, and distinguishes the centre of the front. It is divided into three parts, by four colossal statues, placed over the columns of the order: the centre division being reserved for an inscription, and the sides having oval windows, enriched with festoons of oak and laurel. The four statues represent venerable men in senatorial habits, each wearing the Cap of Liberty. In one hand they have a fasces, composed of reeds firmly bound together, emblematic of strength derived from unanimity; while the other sustains respectively the Scales, the Mirror, the Sword, and the Bridle; symbols of Justice, Truth, Valour, and Moderation. The whole terminates with a group, consisting of the arms of the British Empire, supported, on one side, by the Genius of England, and, on the other, by Fame, sounding her trumpet.

The three open arches form the only entrance. They open to a vestibule, uniting the street with the back-front, and serving as the general access to the whole edifice, but more particularly to the Royal Academy, and to the Royal and Antiquarian Societies; the entrances to which are under cover.

This vestibule is decorated with columns of the Doric order, whose entablatures support the vaults, which are ornamented with well-chosen antiques, among which the cyphers of their late Majesties and the Prince of Wales (now our most gracious sovereign George IV.) are intermixed.

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Over the central doors in this vestibule are two busts, executed in Portland-stone, by Mr. Wilton; that, on the Academy side, represents Michael Angelo Bonarotti; that, on the side of the learned Societies, Sir Isaac Newton.

The back-front of this part of the building, which faces the quadrangle, the architect was enabled to make considerably wider than that towards the Strand. It is near 200 feet in extent, and is composed of a *corps de logis*, with two projecting wings. The style of decoration is, however, nearly the same; the principal variations consist in the forms of the doors and windows, and in the use of pilasters instead of columns, except in the front of the wings, each of which has four columns, supporting an ornament composed of two sphinxes, with an antique altar between them, judiciously introduced to screen the chimnies from view.

The masks on the key-stones of the arches are intended to represent *Lares*, or the tutelar deities of the place.

The Attic is ornamented with statues of the four quarters of the globe. America appears armed, as breathing defiance; the other three are loaded with tributary fruits and treasure. Like the Strand-front, the termination of the Attic on this side is formed by the British Arms surrounded by sedges and sea-weeds, and supported by marine gods, armed with tridents, and holding a festoon of nets, filled with fish and other marine productions.

The other three sides of the quadrangle are formed by massy buildings of rustic work, corresponding with the interior of the principal front. The centre of the South side is ornamented with an arcade of four columns, having two pilasters on each side, within which the windows of the front are thrown a little back. On these columns rests a pediment; in the *tympanum* of which is a *basso relievo* representing the arms of the navy of Great Britain, supported by a sea-nymph, riding on sea-horses, and guided by tritons blowing *conchs*. On the corners of the pediments are military trophies, and the whole is terminated by elegant vases placed above the columns.

The East and West fronts are nearly similar, but less copiously ornamented. In the centre of each of these fronts is a small black tower, and in that of the South front a dome.

All round the quadrangle is a story, sunk below the ground, in which are many of the offices subordinate to those in the basement and upper stories.

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Directly in the front of the entrance, and in the great quadrangle, is a bronze cast of the Thames, by Bacon, lying at the foot of a pedestal, on which is placed an elegant bronze statue of his late Majesty.

The front next the Thames corresponds with the South front of the quadrangle, and is ornamented in the same manner. Before it is a spacious terrace, supported by arches resting on the artificial embankment of the Thames. These arches are of massy rustic work, and the centre, or water-gate, is ornamented with a colossal mask of the Thames, in *alto relievo*. There are eleven arches on each side of the centre, the eighth of which, on both sides, is considerably more lofty than the others, and serves as a landing-place to the warehouses under the terrace. Above these landing-places, upon the balustrade which runs along the terrace, are figures of lions couchant, larger than life, and well executed.

The principal offices held in Somerset-House are those of the Privy Seal and Signet; the Navy; Navy Pay; Victualling, and sick and wounded Seamen's; the Stamp; Tax; Lottery; and Hawker's and Pedlar's; the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands; the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; the Auditors of Imprests; the Pipe; the Comptroller of the Pipe; and the Treasurer's Remembrancer. When the streets on the two sides are finished, there will be dwelling-houses for the Treasurer, Paymaster, and six Commissioners of the Navy; three Commissioners of the Victualling-office, and their secretary; a Commissioner of Stamps, and one of sick and wounded; several of whom reside here. There are, also, commodious apartments in each office for a secretary, or some confidential officer, and for a porter.

On Somerset-House upwards of £500,000 have been expended, which will not appear enormous when it is understood that the building was commenced when the nation was plunged in its destructive war with the colonies.

In many respects, Sir W. Chambers was called to the performance of a novel and arduous task. The Temple, the Palace, the Theatre, had long exercised the ingenuity of architectural talent. A building, destined as a national emporium for the equal resort of art and commerce, demanded fresh exertions, and invited the fancy of the artist to a path which self-dependence alone could enable him to tread.

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It is not our design to trace, under any particular article in this work, the direct progress of architectural skill in England. The various subjects which we shall attempt to illustrate, will necessarily call for discussion respecting the peculiar taste of precise periods; and these casual explanations it would be impolitic to antedate by any resemblance of a regular essay. From the present topic naturally arises a recollection of the alternate prevalence of the Grecian and Roman styles in this country, after the introduction of classic architecture: an oscillation in taste which can scarcely fail to surprise the artist of the present day.

“The art of building,” says Leon Baptista Alberti, “sprang up and spent its adolescent state in Asia; after a certain time, it flowered in Greece; and, finally, acquired perfect maturity in Italy, among the Romans.” Greece, even in the zenith of her greatness, had more ambition than power. We find Athens flattering herself with the conquest of the universe, yet unable to defend her own territories against the incursions of her neighbours. This paucity of population occasioned so great a dread of luxury, that the sumptuary laws of the Grecian states were of the most severe nature.—One of the laws of Lycurgus ordained, “that the ceilings of houses should only be wrought by an axe; and their gates and doors be left rough from the saw.”* So strict a system of equality prevailed among the Grecian States, and so entire a reverence was entertained for the edicts of Lycurgus, that, even in their best time, domestic decoration they accounted folly and effeminacy.—“All the States of Greece,” says Plutarch, “clamoured loudly against Pericles for ornamenting Athens like a vain, fantastic woman; and adorning it with statues and temples, which cost a thousand talents.”—Even Alcibiades, the most luxurious Greek of his time (who was *accused* of wearing a purple cloak, and of sleeping upon a bed with a canvas bottom,) does not seem to have excelled his neighbours in splendour of habitation, except in the single circumstance of his house being painted!

For wealth, splendour, and power, the Romans are acknowledged to stand distinguished as the first people of their era. They began, at an early period,

* This law was so scrupulously observed among the Lacedæmonians, that when King Leotychidas saw at Corinth a ceiling of which the timbers were neatly wrought, it is said to have been a sight so new to him, that he asked his host “*if trees grew square in that country?*”

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to cultivate domestic architecture. According to Suetonius, Julius Cæsar not only embellished Rome with various costly palaces, but raised considerable structures in Italy, France, Spain, Asia, and Greece. Augustus is well known to have boasted on his death-bed that he had converted Rome into a city of marble. From Carthage, Sicily, Egypt, and Greece, were transmitted to Rome the rarest productions of the art of design; and the brightest intelligence of the Roman people was employed, through many centuries, in endeavours to perfect each indistinct conception of foreign genius, and to reduce to practice each glittering theory that accident had prevented neighbouring talent from carrying beyond mere visionary existence.

Vespasian not only erected the temple of Peace, and that dedicated to Minerva, (two of the richest and largest covered buildings of antiquity,) but encouraged the construction of various superb palaces; and obliged the proprietors of ruined houses to rebuild them with an attention to symmetry and taste. The palaces of Caligula and Nero were, in extent, like towns; and Domitian had so great a love for building, that he is said to have wished he were another *Midas*, that he might indulge his propensity without controul.

Thus, considering that the Grecians only studied architecture as accessory to splendor of religious worship, while the Romans carried the art through every avenue of taste, grandeur, and domestic convenience, is it not surprising that when the Gothic mode began to decline in England, and lettered fervour looked for embellishment to the antique, that the Grecian, and not the Roman style was adopted as the standard of imitation?—Such, however, was indisputably the case.

The first building produced in this country in attention to the modes of classical antiquity, was the sumptuous palace presented by Cardinal Wolsey as a peace-offering to the active apprehensions of an irritable monarch: and this primary recurrence of improved taste to the style of lettered predecessors was a monument of the mode and character of Grecian architecture. The second, in point of splendour and eminence, was the original palace denominated Somerset-House: and this was an awkward and incongruous mixture of the Gothic and Grecian. In the time of Elizabeth, a species of architecture prevailed, to which, it appears, English eccentricity may lay a positive claim, as it militates against all established character, and seems little other than the

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feeble effort of convenience to modify the Gothic and castellated style used in the earlier and more barbarous ages; but if ever, in this period, the classical ancients were called to the builder's aid, Greece was the point to which his infatuated search was directed.*

Inigo Jones stood in solitary opposition to the prevalent absurdities of architecture. To the active and judicious genius of Jones is to be ascribed the improved taste of architectural design that has gradually spread over the whole face of our country. Yet even Jones, at times, descended to the incongruities of his period.

It is to be regretted that Sir Christopher Wren's talents were chiefly called, by the exigency of the times, to sacred architecture. His plan of rebuilding London, after the fire of 1666, was worthy of ancient Rome in its most exalted day. Had his genius been devoted to domestic structures, the noblest effects might have been expected. Sir Christopher was conversant with the stores of Italy, and the correctness of his taste could not have done otherwise than transplant their more eligible portions to his native soil.

Vanburgh's imagination was so incumbered with Grecian relics, that his genius never moved without the drawback of ponderous shackles. He mistook houses for temples, and stands forth a memorable instance, that though painting and architecture may most happily unite in the same professor, architecture and poetry cannot readily assimilate in one bosom.†

It remained for Sir William Chambers first to construct a great national edifice, chiefly appropriated to domestic uses, after the best models of the Roman school: and this, whatever defects may be ascertained in his structure, he certainly has achieved. Free from the servility of mere imitation, Chambers availed himself of the brightest emanations of Roman talent, and, while the building in question remains in support of the assertion, we may be sanctioned

* A perspicuous specimen of the motley attempts at classical correctness in this age, may be seen at *Dean* in Wiltshire, where the chief entrance and lateral divisions of the building are in the non-descript manner of Elizabeth's period, while the garden-front is Grecian, highly embellished.

† Candour demands our observing that Sir Joshua Reynolds was a strenuous admirer of Vanburgh's genius. Sir Joshua contended that there was more *picturesque effect* in his designs than in those of any other architect, ancient or modern.

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in affirming, that, "not until the time of the architect of Somerset-House were the genuine proportions of all the orders correctly ascertained, and the ornaments and style of construction, peculiar to each, accurately distinguished."

While we allow Sir William the full praise of establishing the Roman style as a model, it must be admitted that defects of no trivial import occur in his great undertaking.

The columns introduced in the upper section of the façade to the Thames, standing on nothing, and supporting nothing, betray a lamentable puerility of conceit. Pedestals are most unnecessarily introduced at the small eastern arch; and the composite order is employed in the columniated projections on three sides of the quadrangle, in direct violation of every rule of simplicity and regularity. Considering the Strand-front as a mere introductory elevation, we do not hesitate to say that, without the least injury to the general design of his building, Sir William might have rendered the entrance to the quadrangle more respectable and spacious. Nor can we admit the peculiarity of site as a sufficient apology for the interment of such a huge quarry of stone as is contained in the long subterranean ranges of inferior offices.

The palace that formerly occupied the ground plan of this great national building, belonged, as we have stated, to Edward Duke of Somerset, Protector in the reign of Edward VI. On receiving a grant from his royal nephew of certain lands and buildings situated on the border of the Thames, Somerset demolished the mansions (or *inns* as they were termed) of the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. The church of St. Mary-le-Strand stood near the inn of the latter Prelate. This church was extremely ancient, and had probably become superfluous from the junction of the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand with that of St. Mary-le-Savoy. The church, therefore, shared the fate of the episcopal palaces, and was removed in favor of the Protector's intended edifice.—The building was formed from materials that had formerly composed the church of St. John of Jerusalem,* and the cloisters on the north side of St. Paul's.

This palace consisted of several courts, and had a garden behind it, situated

* This church was famous for the beauty of its tower, which was "graven, gilt, and enameled." The tower was *blown up*, when the materials were wanted by the Protector.

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on the banks of the Thames. The front next the Strand was adorned with columns, and other decorations, affecting the Grecian style; and in the centre was an enriched gate opening to the quadrangle. On the south side of this quadrangle was a piazza, before the great hall or guard-room; beyond which were other courts, that lay on a descent towards the garden.—The back-front (next to the Thames) was added to the original structure by King Charles II. and was a magnificent elevation of free-stone, with a noble piazza built by Inigo Jones. In this new building a selection of apartments was dedicated to the use of royalty. These rooms commanded a beautiful prospect of the river and the adjacent country. The garden was ornamented with statues, shady walks, and a bowling-green. After the removal of Queen Catherine, Dowager of Charles II. several officers belonging to the court were permitted to lodge in the royal apartments, and a great part of the building was, for some time, used as barracks for soldiers.

Somerset-yard, on the west side of the palace, extended as far as the end of Catherine-street. Latterly, in this yard were built coach-houses, stables, and a spacious guard-room.

The architect of old Somerset-House is supposed to have been *John of Padua*, who had a salary in the preceding reign, under the title of *Devizor of his Majesty's Buildings*.

The building was commenced in 1549, and was completed with great expedition. Mr. Pennant observes, that “possibly the founder never enjoyed the use of this palace, for in 1552 he fell a just victim on the scaffold.”* In this, however, Mr. Pennant is wrong:—The Duke *did* reside at his palace in the Strand; for his commendatory preface to the “*Spiritual Pearle*,” is concluded in these words:—“From *oure house at Somerset-Place*, the vith day of May, anno 1550.”

To this palace Queen Elizabeth was in the habit of resorting, as a visitor to her kinsman, Lord Hunsdon; to whom, with characteristic frugality, her Majesty lent Somerset-Place.

Anne of Denmark, (consort of King James I.) kept her court here. Wilson says, “that the Queen’s court was a continued *mascarado*, where she and her

* Vide some Account of London, p. 129.

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ladies, like so many sea-nymphs, or nereides, appeared in various dresses, to the ravishment of the beholders.”*

Through the shady, sequestered recesses of Somerset gardens, a more luckless Queen wandered, and struggled to hide the chagrin that fed on the best virtues of her bosom—virtues, that all its silent asperity, through a long succession of years, could not have the triumph of consuming!—Catherine, the amiable, but neglected, wife of the *only genius of the house of Stuart*, dwelt in the palace of the once-potent Protector. The extent of insult to which this exemplary character was subjected, by the profligacy of her *ingenious* consort, the “airy” Charles, was not correctly known till Mr. Pegge ascertained that she was obliged to receive Eleanor Gwynne as a lady of her privy-chamber!

Charles I. appears to have been considerably attached to Somerset-House. He prepared it for the reception of the Infanta of Spain, when a marriage with that Princess occupied his romantic fancy.—Queen Henrietta Maria shared the partiality of her consort, in regard to this residence. In 1662, the old palace was repaired and beautified by Queen Henrietta, who then flattered herself with the soothing hope of passing the remainder of her life in England.—Two of our most eminent poets, (Cowley and Waller) have, in some elegant stanzas, complimented her Majesty’s attention to Somerset-House.

Few objects can be more dissimilar than the neighbourhood of Somerset-House in the days of the Protector, and the same neighbourhood in our own time. In no respect does custom seem more entirely to have varied in the course of a very few centuries, than in the situation chosen by English nobility for their town-mansions.—Thomas Lord Cromwell built a palace in Throgmorton-street. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, lived in the Savoy. In 1410, a magnificent building in Cold *Herbergh* (Cold Harbour) lane, Thames-street, was granted to the Prince of Wales, (afterwards Henry V.) The Marquis of Dorchester, and the Earl of Westmoreland, lived in Aldersgate-street; and Edward the Black Prince could find no more eligible a place of abode than Fish-street-hill!

This strange distribution of noble seats is to be explained only by one circumstance:—till the accession of Elizabeth, the Tower of London afforded

* During the occupancy of this Queen, the building was called *Denmark-place*.

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an occasional residence to our monarchs, and was uniformly the theatre of their first deliberations on coming to the crown. The power of attraction, therefore, oscillated between East and West, and the majority of noble families chose the site of their castellated *inns* as nearly equidistant, in regard to the tower and western-court, as possible;—with this special observance—that the vicinage of the Thames was ever a primary consideration; for, before the use of close-carriages, water-conveyance was the most luxurious appendage possible to the dignity of baronial splendor.*

Considerable improvements, as might have been expected, have been made during a lapse of two centuries, on the Strand-side of the original Somerset-Place.—In the reign of Edward II. the Strand was an open highway, interspersed with a few solitary houses, but in 1353, its ruggedness was such, that Edward appropriated a tax on wool, leather, &c. to its improvement.

It was not till the year 1670, that the Strand was divided from Fleet-street by Temple-bar. In the Duke of Somerset's day, the site of this bar was occupied simply by posts, rails, and chains.

At the commencement of the last century, the Strand was lighted only by lanthorns, hung gratuitously by the inhabitants, without any resemblance of parochial uniformity. Both road and foot-path were paved with rough flints. Indeed, the Strand in the time of Edward VI. does not appear to have been a thoroughfare of great resort. At any rate, barrows and broad-wheeled carts were the only carriages of passage.—Access to the court, whether held at the Tower, Whitehall, or Westminster, was most readily found by means of the Thames.

As we have interesting documents in our possession concerning the founder of the ancient edifice, and the architect connected with that great national building that has risen from the ashes of private magnificence, we presume they will not be unacceptable to the Reader. It will be recollected, that the family of the Seymours was of great respectability before the notice of the reigning monarch (Henry VIII.) elicited all its talents, and placed it as a mark for the

* James I. in a capricious mood, threatened the Lord-Mayor with removing the seat of royalty, the meetings of parliament, &c. from the capital. "Your Majesty at least," replied the Mayor, "will be graciously pleased to leave us the river Thames!"

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envy of the great, and the admiration of the obscure. Shortly after the nuptials of Henry with Jane Seymour, he created that lady's brother, Sir Edward (the celebrated subject of our present inquiry,) Lord Beauchamp; and, six days after the birth of Henry's son by Queen Jane, the earldom of Hertford was added to the baronial title before-mentioned. During the whole of Henry's reign the Earl enjoyed a considerable portion of his confidence.

Hertford served in Scotland, in 1542, under the Duke of Norfolk, and shared in the glory obtained by the English force at the memorable battle of Solway. In 1545, the Earl was likewise engaged in the Scottish war. At the head of a considerable body of troops he committed ravages on "the middle and west marches," but appears to have had no particular opportunity of signaling his prowess. In the ensuing twelvemonth, Hertford, in conjunction with Lord Lisle, entered France; but a peace (concluded on the 7th of June) occasioned the return of the commanders, after engaging in some skirmishes of small moment.

In some degree, the fortunes of Hertford were connected with the fall of the Earl of Surrey;—a name dear to every Englishman who possesses the slightest veneration for literary attainment.—Surrey had been appointed Governor of Boulogne; and, though his personal bravery was undoubted, he had been unfortunate in some skirmishes with the French. The King, in consequence, displaced him in favor of the Earl of Hertford:—a substitution the more mortifying to Surrey, as he had a short time before declined marrying Lord Hertford's daughter. The subsequent fate of the accomplished Surrey will occur to the reader, without the painful circumstance of repetition.

It was in the reign of Edward VI. that Hertford rose above the utmost darings of his former ambition; but rose as abruptly to fall. Henry fixed the majority of the Prince at the completion of his eighteenth year, and appointed sixteen executors, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Among these, the Earl of Hertford was placed conspicuous in the office of Chamberlain. The obvious inconveniences that must arise from the want of some head to represent the dignified attributes of majesty, suggested the propriety of nominating a Protector. Wriothesly,* the Chan-

* Wriothesly was a man of a violent and sanguinary temper. If Fox, Speed, and Baker may be depended on, (a dependance, perhaps, not altogether secure) when Anne Ascue, in the pre-

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cellor, stood alone in opposition to this measure. A solitary dissenting voice was, of course, over-ruled; and on Hertford the nomination rested, as a man interested in the prosperity of the minor sovereign, from the circumstance of a tie of blood unconnected with any personal pretensions to the crown.

According to the intention of the late monarch (as was proved by sufficient witnesses) Hertford was now created Duke of Somerset, and appointed Mareschal and Lord Treasurer. His brother, at the same time, was created Lord Seymour, of Sudley, and appointed Admiral. In addition to his title, the Protector was endowed with several spiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends: a mode of encouragement by no means unfrequent in periods immediately subsequent to the dissolution of monasteries.

The constant aim of the Protector evidently appears to have been the increase of his individual authority in the Council. Wriothesly, (now Earl of Southampton) had, from his own authority, put the Great Seal in commission. This act, decidedly illegal, caused Somerset to remove the Chancellor. It may, however, be safely affirmed that the removal of an enemy, both political and religious, was Somerset's primary motive for stigmatizing the conduct of the Earl of Southampton.

Not satisfied with the degradation of the Wriothesly faction, Somerset procured a patent, by which he was named Protector, with such an extent of power as enabled him to appoint a council, and exercise all the privileges of sovereignty.

Seldom has individual man (not invested with the ermine and purple of a throne) occupied a station of more responsibility. Let us see how the Protector conducted himself.—Somerset was inclined to what was called the reformation of religion, at this juncture so critical in regard to ecclesiastical affairs. The former reign afforded an ample excuse for severity; but Somerset chiefly employed the means of argument and mercy. He appointed a general visitation to be made of all the dioceses of England; but the visitors were enjoined to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused to the ceding reign, was put to torture, on a religious question, Wriothesly, with pitiless, unmanly zeal, ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; and on that officer refusing, the Chancellor performed the operation with his own hand!

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idolatry, and to instruct the people not to treat with contumely such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of such ridiculous superstitions as "the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles in order to drive away the devil."*

Gardiner was the chief opposer of the Protector's innovations; for which opposition he was confined for a time in the Fleet; but no faggot was lighted to settle the religious sentiments of the vehement Bishop.

A very dear object in the views of the Protector, was a marriage between his royal nephew and the young Queen of Scots. The harshness of the age can only account for the strange manner in which Somerset endeavoured to urge the propriety of this union: in order to persuade the Scots to enter into an amicable intermarriage with this country, he went to war with them! The conflict was supported, for a considerable time, with alternate success and perplexity; but, in the issue, it redounded to the honor of English prowess, though the junction formed between France and Scotland wrested from the hopes of Somerset all prospect of an alliance between the two neighbouring crowns.

At the battle of Pinkey, the Protector acted with much self-command and valour; and though his army, at one time, was placed in the most perilous situation, he so signalized himself as to obtain a complete victory over the enemy with a loss of only 200 men, whilst that of the Scotch was estimated at above 10,000.

A war with France succeeded the Scottish contest. Aware of the disordered state of the national finances, and disappointed in his hope of assistance from the emperor, Somerset attempted all the palliative arts of negotiation. In these attempts he appears to have been, in no small degree, actuated by a genuine conviction that not any real cause of hostility existed between the two powers. So liberal a motive must certainly do him honor as a man, though his forbearance provoked many aspersions of his character as a politician.

The laws enacted during the plenitude of Somerset's authority were characterised by mildness and urbanity. He expunged the offensive rigour of

* See Hume, 291. Burnet, 28, &c.

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Henry's most formidable statutes, and seemed more anxious to prevent error than to punish crime.

But the bane of a minor government—ceaseless faction—perplexed and retarded every struggle of the Protector for the benefit of the common-weal. At the head of the cabals formed against Somerset was seen, to the disgrace of every social feeling, his brother, Thomas Lord Seymour, the admiral. This nobleman, notoriously unprincipled and ambitious,* was perpetually engaged in intrigues, the avowed purpose of which was to separate the office of governor of the King's person from that of Protector of the kingdom. His intemperate resolves seemed indeed prophetic of abrupt ruin. He was committed to the Tower, tried, and condemned. The warrant under which he suffered was necessarily signed by the Duke of Somerset! To such severities of circumstance are those subjected, who *act* officially for others, while they cannot avoid *feeling* for themselves!

The Protector, on every public occasion, stood forward as the champion of *the people*. His chief attention appears to have been ever directed to the relief of the lower classes. The commonality of England experienced very severe afflictions at this period from the suppression of monasteries (the superfluities of which were uniformly distributed in charity) and the frequent inclosures, which drove the cottager even from the bare-worn heath, and robbed him at once of fuel, sustenance, and freedom. Somerset, who had "a heart open as day to melting charity," caused such of the commons as were most eligible to the poor and least calculated for the purposes of tillage, to be thrown again into general use. The wealthy land-holder remonstrated; but there occurs this one instance in English history of the voice of the abject and forlorn outweighing, in the estimation of government, that of the potent and disdainful.—In so much was this the case with the Protector, that he instituted a *Court of Requests* in his own house, for the purpose of hearing (as *Styrpe*

* Thomas Lord Seymour married the Queen-Dowager of Henry VIII. His illustrious wife soon died; and her suspicions, when dying, have given rise to the most dreadful surmises. It is certain, that, during the life of Catherine, her husband entertained designs on the Princess Elizabeth. He was favorably received by the object of his ambition. Their chief place of meeting was Bath's inn, in the Strand. In Burghley's State Papers, from page 95 to 103, may be seen a detail of Lord Seymour's conduct.

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informs us) "the petitions and suits of *poor men*; and upon the compassion he took of their oppressions, if he ended not their business, he would send his letters to chancery in their favour!"

A conduct so favourable to the great bulk of the commonwealth, gave, as may be supposed, high offence to the gentry and nobility.

The embarrassments occasioned to government by the French war gave opportunity to the faction, inimical to Somerset, to effect his downfall. The youthful Edward appears to have been the easy dupe of every artful man that could gain access to him. He now withdrew his shelter from his uncle, and Somerset was committed to the Tower. So great was the humiliation of the Duke, that he submitted to confess *on his knees*, before the Council, all the articles of charge exhibited against him. On this confession, his enemies were, for the present, satisfied with depriving him of all his offices, and fining him £2,000 a year in land. But the jealous ambition of Warwick (shortly dignified with the title of Duke of Northumberland) caused him to look with dislike on the popularity Somerset still possessed, in spite of comparative poverty and degradation. Even the alliance that existed between the families, (Northumberland's son had married the former Protector's daughter) availed nothing. Northumberland gained, by sinister means, the confidence of Somerset's principal servants. The unguarded Duke often "broke out into menacing expressions against his enemy. At other times, he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned, and his treacherous confidants carried to their employer every passionate word which dropped from him."—At length these very betrayers suggested to Somerset a plan for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet to be given by Lord Paget. An insurrection in the North was to second this enterprise; the Tower was to be secured; and a rebellion excited in London. This suggestion was made the instrument of his utter ruin. In one night, the Duke of Somerset, and nearly the whole of his small residue of friends, were committed to custody; and next day the Duchess, with her favourite attendants, were thrown into prison.

Somerset was tried on the double charges of high-treason and felony. With indecent malignity, Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton composed three of the jury. Still the treasonable part of the charge was so

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weakly supported that a majority of the Peers gave a verdict in favour of the accused.

The intention of assaulting privy-counsellors was, however, so far established by evidence, that he was convicted of felony, and received sentence accordingly. The crowds without, who waited with deep anxiety the issue of this important trial, expressed their opinion of the question by loud and reiterated shouts when the prisoner was exonerated from the first part of his accusation, and the grief occasioned by his conviction of felony was denoted in terms no less sincere, and scarcely less boisterous.

This once potent and magnificent Duke met his fate on the scaffold of Tower-hill. He was attended by immense throngs of spectators, whose clamorous friendship broke forth in demands for his pardon, even to the last moment. Many of them rushed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them, soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

The character of the Protector Somerset has certainly been much misrepresented by many historians; and indeed Mr. Pennant,* who, as far as regards his biographical delineations, appears to have travelled with a post-haste expedition through the realms of literature that allowed him time only to take a superficial view of the objects that occurred, brings a charge of a most curious nature against him. Alluding to the ecclesiastical buildings destroyed by Somerset for the purpose of using their materials in his new mansion, Mr. P. observes, "The crime of sacrilege is never mentioned among the numerous articles brought against him. Mortals should be very delicate in pronouncing the vengeance of heaven on their fellow-creatures, yet in this instance without *presumption*, without *superstition*, one may suppose his fall to have been marked out by the Almighty as a warning to impious men! He fell lamented only because his end was effected by a man more wicked, more ambitious, and more detested than himself."—The name of Pennant has obtained, in many points, a deserved respectability in letters. How much is it to be lamented that a conceit of fanciful piety should have betrayed him into the use of such

* Vide Pages 67 and 129 of "Some Account of London."

undue epithets as the above! Did not Mr. Pennant know, "that in those days every great man, Protestant and Papist, shewed equal rapacity after the goods of the church?"—These are his own words; and, "if it were common, why seemed it so particular" in Somerset?—That it was common in the times which immediately followed the dissolution we can easily substantiate.—"On the east of the church-yard of St. Paul," says Lambert, "was a *clochier*, or bell-tower, wherein were four great bells, called Jesus' bells, from their belonging to Jesus' chapel, in St. Faith's church; but these, together with a fine image of St. Paul, on the top of the spire, being won by Sir Miles Partridge, of *Henry VIII. at one cast of the dice, were by that gentleman taken down and sold.*"

Historians may term Somerset weak, and Mr. Pennant may, indeed, proclaim him wicked, but it must not be forgotten that he was ever the *Friend of the People*, and that he retained a popularity unparalleled through the whole of his administration.

It now only remains to take notice of the life of Sir William Chambers; some particulars of whom, we have had the honour of receiving from one of the most illustrious characters connected with the science and letters of this kingdom.

Sir William Chambers (Knight of the Polar Star, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Board of Works, Treasurer of the Royal Academy, and Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies) was of Scotch extraction, though a native of Gottenburgh, in Sweden. The family of Chalmers is of considerable antiquity in Scotland, and formerly possessed the Barony of Tartas, in France. Concerning his family-derivation, however, Sir William appears not to have entertained any pride. He probably never inquired into the situation of his Scottish connexions, and certainly never used the nominal orthography to which he was by birth entitled.

His grandfather was a merchant of some eminence, who suffered materially by supplying Charles XII. of Sweden with goods, for which he was in part paid with the adulterated coin of that warlike monarch. The important claims possessed by the family on that country, induced Sir William's father to repair to Sweden, where he resided for many years.

The first entrance into life of the subject of our memoirs was in quality of

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supercargo to a Swedish East-India ship, a situation which he occupied to the full satisfaction of his employers. He, however, at a very early age, quitted the Company's service, and devoted his attention to the art in which he afterwards attained so considerable an eminence.

Shortly after his application to architectural studies, he visited England, and ventured to appear before the public in capacity of author. His first work was a "Dissertation on Oriental Gardening." A second edition soon appeared, to which was annexed An Explanatory Discourse, by a Chinese writer. This discourse was so skilfully burlesqued in the "Heroic Epistle," that Chambers would gladly, at a subsequent period, have suppressed his Oriental speculations, though they certainly appear to have laid the ground-work of his future fortunes, for it was this publication that recommended him to the notice of Lord Bute, at the instance of whose advice Chambers was employed to erect the brick Pagoda which stands in the south-east corner of the royal gardens of Kew, at which place her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales then resided.

It was here, no doubt, while employed in this work, that he profited by the continual opportunities he possessed of soliciting the notice of his late majesty, who made it an invariable rule never to relax in good offices to the merit that once happily gained his esteem.

To the uniform protection of his royal master, Sir William was entirely indebted for his appointment to the Surveyorship of the Board of Works. Before that appointment, Sir William underwent all the pecuniary difficulties inevitably usual with a junior student in the finer arts. But the immense emoluments derived from the fees and perquisites of his vast office (then in the zenith of its opportunities) immediately put him in receipt of a considerable income.

In all Sir William's architectural undertakings, he appears to have had in view the general establishment of a taste for the Roman style of building. Respecting the propriety of his conduct in this particular, we have before ventured to give our opinion. He certainly had reason to be highly gratified with the success of his endeavours.

In a still more essential point are the arts indebted to the friendly exertions of Sir William Chambers. We consider it as an eulogy of the most flatter-

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ing description to name the architect of Somerset-house as the most active person concerned in founding the Royal Academy.

The first effort towards any resemblance of an association of the artists of this country occurred in the year 1724. Sir James Thornhill then proposed to Lord Halifax such an institution, and named the upper end of the Mews as a suitable spot for the erection of a building. On finding all his endeavours to obtain patronage inefficient, Sir James opened an Academy for Drawing at his house in Covent-garden.

In the year 1750, the painters of Great Britain entered into terms of annual subscription, and rented a house in St. Martin's lane, where they assembled for the purpose of painting from living models. It was not till ten years subsequent to the commencement of this association that any public exhibition of their works took place. The advantages resulting from such a custom were, as might be expected, so considerable, that, on January 26, 1765, the associated artists obtained a royal charter of incorporation. The jealousy of those persons who, from various motives, were not included in this charter of incorporation, broke forth shortly after; and they not only withdrew their contributions from the Society's annual collection, but instituted an exhibition of their own. This, however, after lingering for a very few years, was heard of no more.

To compose the ferment which thus operated to the injury of the arts, his majesty was pleased, in the year 1769, to institute a Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. The expenses of this institution, it was conjectured, might be amply defrayed by the produce of an annual exhibition; but should any deficiency arise, his majesty graciously undertook to supply it from the privy-purse; which he did, at different times, to the amount of £5,000. But the exhibitions becoming annually more profitable, the Academy was enabled to purchase property in the stocks, and create a fund for the relief of decayed artists.

The readiness of access to his majesty, possessed officially by Sir William Chambers, enabled him to render the embryo society the most important services.—Wilson, West, Sandby, and Stubbs, were the principal artists with whom the scheme originated; but Sir William joined efficiency to inclination, and every lover of the arts must unite in honouring the memory of the man,

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to whose exertions, in a considerable degree, is owing that freedom of public competition that is the foster-nurse of merit, and the best stimulant of youthful perseverance and ambition.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his discourse delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy (October 16, 1780) pays the talents of Sir W. Chambers a marked compliment; "This building, in which we are now assembled, will remain to many future ages an illustrious specimen of the architect's abilities. It is our duty to endeavour that those who gaze with wonder at the structure, may not be disappointed when they visit the apartments."*

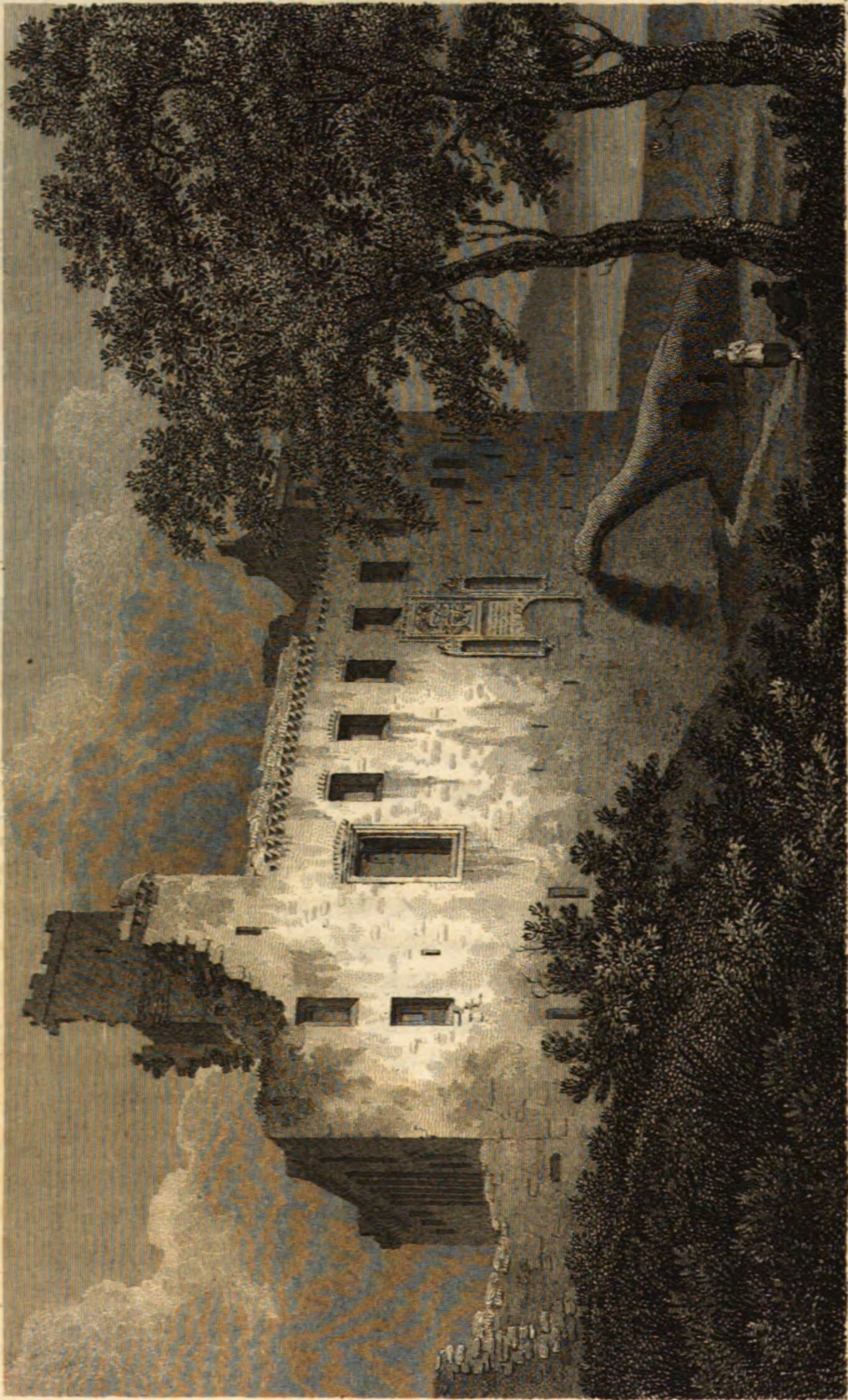
Sir William Chambers does not appear to have been misled by any of those eccentricities that too often sully the brilliancy of genius. He pursued his studies with undeviating regularity, and his success was naturally proportioned to his exertions.

As an author, Sir William certainly is not entitled to exalted commendation. Besides the work already mentioned, he published "Designs for Chinese Buildings,"—"Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views, of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew."—And a "Treatise on Civil Architecture." All of these works were, in 1769, incorporated into one folio volume. The treatise on civil architecture is the most useful of his performances; but there his plagiarisms are numerous, and his style of composition the most uncouth imaginable.

This most useful architect, and warm friend of the fine arts, died on the 8th of March, 1796. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, whither they were attended by many members of those dignified societies to which Sir William had belonged. In the Abbey, the procession was joined by the principal tradesmen concerned with the Board of Works, who voluntarily paid this last mark of attention to a man whose upright conduct and habitual courtesy they did not fail to proclaim with many affecting denotations of esteem and regret.

Sir William left a son and two daughters. The former married a daughter of Lord Southampton; and one of the latter became the wife of a Mr. Innes, of the island of Jamaica, and is since dead.

* Discourse ix. &c.—Reynolds' Works.



LINLITHGOW PALACE.

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Description

OF

LINLITHGOW PALACE.

LINLITHGOW is a royal Scottish borough, and contains nearly 4,000 inhabitants. The precise period of its creation cannot be accurately ascertained, but it is known to have existed in the reign of David I. It was formerly a place of great consideration, and had first the harbour of Blackness, and afterwards that of Queensferry, assigned it as a port.

On the site of a Roman fortification, the English Edward I. built here a formidable castle. But its ponderous walls and threatening turrets struggled in vain to command forbearance from the haughtiness of Scottish valour. Edward resided in his castle during one winter. His absence was the signal for demolition, and all the laboured pomp of his structure was shortly humbled with the dust. On the same site the Scottish monarchs erected a palace, destined to be the theatre of many a shifting scene of gaiety and anguish.

Scotland, during the middle ages, was particularly backward in nearly all the dignified arts that embellish human life. Trained to the necessity of continual warfare, the Scot of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries looked with habitual disdain on every pursuit unconnected with the hardihood of the embattled field, or the rude grandeur of the tilt and tournament.

Among the neglected arts, to the injury of national taste and splendour, ornamental architecture held a place. Of so little consequence was this noble art esteemed, that it was formerly objected to James III. that too much of his time was devoted to poetry, music, architecture, and such light toys.

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The revenues of the chieftains of those periods were expended in the politic hospitality familiar to a feudal age. Each baron was a petty monarch, superior in almost all points, save those of form and ceremony, to the jurisdiction of the sovereign. Not only was he agitated by a dread of the regal vengeance too often provoked by his arrogant assumptions, but perpetually engaged in domestic broils with the adjacent heads of clans. The ceaseless contests with England likewise retarded materially the progress of architectural refinement. Those parts of Scotland not harassed by the vicinage of England were, in a majority of instances, rendered insecure in periods of turbulence by an exposure to the sea. The nobles, therefore, would have been evidently impolitic (even had taste suggested the measure) to vest a large portion of their wealth in the seductive magnificence of family-mansions. From these, and other equally imperative causes, ancient Scotland abounded with massive fortresses and moated places of retreat, but refined beauty of structure was a stranger both to the rough tenant of the highland recesses and the more courtly baron of the cultivated plain. Circumstances unconnected with art still favoured a captivating magnificence of residence. Nature lent an abundance of her florid charms to the chieftain's gloomy pile of unshaped stone. Down the tremendous precipice that frowned derision on the assailant's utmost boldness, a confluence of streams rolled an awful cascade; the birch, the cypress, the heath, the arbutus, tinted the mountain-side with the choicest of autumn's fluctuating hues; while the towering flight of the eagle and the falcon added to the majesty of the scene.

It cannot be concealed that the Scots chief had another motive to prefer strength to elegance in the form of his dwelling. Tempted by the frequent commotions of his neighbourhood, the baron was himself ever ready to head predatory excursions, during which the property of all unconnected with his immediate clan seized, without apprehension or remorse. The marriage-articles of the daughter of a highland chieftain are said still to exist, in which the father promises, as a portion, two hundred Scots marks, and *half a michaelmas moon*, or, in plainer language, half the plunder for a month when the nights grew dark enough for the purpose of robbery.

In consequence of the enmities necessarily engendered by such a lawless devastation, the chief never ventured abroad, unless attended by an armed

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band, while his castle was constantly stored with the arms and provision requisite in a state of siege. Locked in the self-imprisonment of his own Donjon,* the baron was insensible to every thing partaking of mental refinement, and strove to varnish his pseudo-dignities with the emblazoned scroll of a long line of martial ancestry. After the love of rapine, a barbarous pride of progeniture appears, indeed, to have been the most active principle in the antient chieftain's breast. To so absurd an extent was this retrograde species of self-exaltation carried, that, in one instance, it met with the discountenancing rebuke of James I.—When that monarch, in one of his progresses, stopped at a castle belonging to the Lumleys, the proprietor was anxious to impress his majesty with the high antiquity of the family, and was carrying his legend back to a period far too distant to obtain credit, when James interrupted him with “*Mon, gang na farther! let ma digest the knowledge I ha gained; for, by my saul! I did na before ken that Adam's name was Lumley.*”

Among a nobility so locally insecure, so ferocious in inclination, and so prone to substitute hereditary grandeur for personal merit and reputation, little splendour in domestic architecture was to be expected; even the king himself, with respect to architectural grandeur of residence, aspired only to the dignity of the first land-holder, in a sterile and harassed country. Little pomp, among the early monarchs, attended the seat of regal power. Their mansions were, formerly, strong holds of defence, not embellished ornaments of royalty.—Still, by degrees, even during the prevalence of the feudal system, the harshness of the Scottish character became sensible of some amelioration; and this pleasing improvement may be accurately noted both in the character of building, and circumstances of locality adopted by the monarchs in regard to their chief places of residence. “As the Scottish kings extended their authority southward,” observes Newte, “the usual places of their abode became more and more southerly also. Dunstaffnage was exchanged for Scone; Scone for Dunfermline and Falkland; Falkland for Stirling; Stirling for Linlithgow and Edinburgh; and, at last, Edinburgh for London. But, amidst these changes, after the establishment of the monarchy of Scotland, the national boundaries which marked the land, confined, on the whole, the choice of a place of abode.

* The *Keep*, or chief residence of the castle, was so entitled,

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to that track which is bounded by the courses of the Forth and the Tay, on the south and the north ; on the west by the mountains ; and on the east by the ocean. From the lofty battlements of Stirling-Castle, the royal eye surveyed, with pride, the bold outlines of an unconquered kingdom. The Grampians, the Ochills, and the Pentland Hills, conveyed a just idea of its natural strength ; and the whole course of the Forth, with its tributary streams, exhibited a pleasing prospect of its natural resources in fishing."—Nor, in point of situation, was the palace of Linlithgow inferior to the castle of Stirling :

"Of all the Palaces so fair,
Built for the Royal dwelling,
In Scotland, far beyond compare
Linlithgow is excellency,"

Says the romantic bard of chivalric Scotia. The country, through many miles round, smiles in luxuriant fertility. The waters of the Avon meander among the distant scenery, while Linlithgow lake (an expanse possessing an exquisite variety of picturesque points) reposes in the immediate vicinity of the palace. Of the building itself, a magnificent ruin alone remains. From that relic we learn that convenience, as well as safety, was studied by the founder.

Linlithgow was a castellated mansion ; not, as was the case with the royal dwellings farther northward, a mere habitable castle of defence. It was of a square form, with a turret at each corner ; within was a spacious area, round which were galleries leading to the principal bowers, or chambers. Three sides of the great square still remain. The turrets, however, have fallen from the pride of their elevation. Over an outward gate are carved in stone the four orders of knighthood worn by James V. ; the garter, thistle, holy-ghost, and golden fleece.

The eminence on which the palace was seated may be supposed to have rendered many circumstances of artificial security superfluous ; yet it is impossible to note, without a considerable degree of pleasure, that increase of civilization near the capital that warranted the absence of the donjon-keep, the yawning moat, and apprehensive draw-bridge.

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The interior of the three divisions yet remaining are marked by gloomy grandeur. Long halls and passages communicate with the different ranges of rooms. The windows are very numerous and large, but the massive thickness of the walls in which they are placed, must have considerably diminished the effect of the rays which struggled to gain a passage through each half-transparent section of stained glass. In computing the dulness of the state-rooms of an antient Scottish palace, we must recollect, however, that little use was made of them during the day. The hardy courtiers of the middle ages spent nearly every hour, till the approach of darkness, in the open air. The chase, the joust, or manly games of gymnastic recreation, were the regular employments of the most illustrious princes, when not engaged in warlike undertakings. It was for the revelry of night that the stately halls of the palace were constructed. The cresset,* pending from the rudely-carved ceiling, then shed a gaudy lustre on the banquet. Flaming lamps illumined the galleries, where minstrels sang romantic legends to the strain of the harp. Dances to the merriest measure succeeded, or haply, the "masking quaint and pageant bright."—The revelry was ended ere the tapers were extinguished, and no eye discovered the want of windows in the princely hall to admit the "garish light" of day.

"The buildings of the Moor while he yet retained Granada, or the Round Tower and Cross of antient Ireland," observes an intelligent tourist, "excite ideas which cannot fail to make a considerable impression upon the mind of a classical reader and spectator: nor do the ruined castles and houses of the feudal ages less engage our attention, by recalling images of past grandeur, of names once illustrious, and of deeds that still adorn the historic page."—The truth of this remark must find an echo in every bosom. Perhaps there is no mental association productive of so much melancholy pleasure as that which unites the idea of those who tenanted an ancient edifice, in its prosperous day, with the contemplation of the solitude and decay to which the pile has since become subject. Who can view the sculptured shield, now o'ergrown with moss, in a venerable hall, and not pant to know the history of the mighty personage whose bearings it announces? But, if that long-vanished hero should boast a name and

* Antique chandelier.

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title distinguished in the historic tales that first engaged our fancy, how peculiar is the delight with which we hang over the spot consecrated by his domestic habits!—In a very strong degree must these sensations be excited by the mournful and picturesque fragments of Linlithgow.

In respect to a subject, indeed, that presents little other than majestic ruin, we are necessarily debarred from all resemblance of lengthened architectural disquisition. The object chiefly interests, as the decayed theatre of former acts of alternate contention and magnificence. Each tottering stone arrests the fancy, as the venerable appendage to some tale of a far-gone day.—The fairy charms of antique legend let us then summon round us; charms which art and science may contemn, but of whose influence none can be insensible that have gazed on the romantic ruins of Linlithgow.

King James IV. was accustomed to pass much time in the palace “so far beyond compare” with all others built for the “royal dwelling” in Scotland. He met his fate at Flodden-field, in an engagement which proceeded from a paroxysm of thoughtless anger. The sculptured stone that yet retains the memorial of the orders worn by James V. speaks incontestibly the affection with which he ever regarded Linlithgow, the scene of his infantile days. It was here, in fact, that his hours of happiest relaxation were passed. Through all the various changes his life of sceptered care underwent, Linlithgow was still regarded as *the home* of dear enjoyment! For the banquet luxurious and uncontrolled; the humourous masque and festive dance; or the more exquisite felicity of domestic affection, he never failed to direct his exhilarated steps to the well-known portals of Linlithgow palace.

The end of this prince is, in every shape, unpleasing to recollection. His constant aim, it will be remembered, was to lessen the exorbitant power of the Scottish barons. Notwithstanding the loss their numbers had sustained at the great battle on Flodden-field,* they resisted all his endeavours, and their obstinacy proved too mighty for his resolution. As an unequivocal instance of the suspicions with which he regarded his nobles, he entrusted the command of the army that came in opposition to the English at Solway Moss, to

* It is stated that at this battle twelve Scottish earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of noblemen, and an incredible number of barons, were slain.

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Oliver Sinclair.* Indignant at this supposed affront, the barons refused to obey the favorite, and surrendered their forces (10,000 strong) to 500 English, the advanced-guard of King Henry's army. This blow entirely overcame James, who had, for some time, betrayed marks of mental dejection. The most gloomy despair succeeded the transport of fury, with which he heard the disgraceful conduct of the barons. He resigned himself to the influence of this enervating torpor, and died a victim.

It would be unjust to quit James V. without observing, that his humanity was so great that he was entitled "The Poor Man's King." His eagerness to curtail the power of the predatory Barons, sometimes caused him to spend whole days on horseback; and his exertions produced so much internal security, that it was a saying among the peasants, during his reign, "*the rush-bush keeps the cow.*"

While James was engaged in the English war, he placed his queen in the favorite retirement of Linlithgow, and here, even in the palace where his own infant hours had found security, was his royal consort delivered of a daughter. The intelligence reached James a few days before his death, while he lay languishing on the bed of care and disappointment. He betrayed no symptom of parental delight, but shook his head, and exclaimed, "The kingdom came with a lassie, and it will be lost with one!" A proof, however, that the interest of his country occupied the latest fragment of his disordered thoughts.

The room in which this ill-omened daughter (destined to be the heroine of many an historic tale, under the name of Mary, Queen of Scots) was born, is still to be seen at Linlithgow, situated in one of the more ruinous sides of the square. Without any affectation of refined feeling, it certainly is impossible to contemplate this deserted apartment with indifference. It inevitably recalls the checquered circumstances of Queen Mary's fortune;—her beauty, her accomplished tenderness, her unshaken fortitude,—and her errors. The outlines of her story are too generally familiar for repetition; yet we may be excused for bestowing a cursory glance on some parts of her eventful life, while particularizing the spot on which she first engaged the hopes and fears of a

* One of the Sinclairs of Roslyn Castle.

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royal parent, who derived consolation for the melancholy death of a husband, in flattering presentiments regarding her orphan child.

There appears little room to doubt that the origin of Mary's misfortunes may be ascertained in the mode of her education. No court in Europe was of so dissipated a character as that of France. Nursed in the school of gallantry, and flattered into an early notion of the supremacy of beauty, Mary rose to the world well qualified to shine as a woman, but devoid of every adventitious circumstance that could recommend her as a queen. With every thought refined to the subtlety of love, and, at the same time, very lax notions respecting the necessity of domestic duties, she was, indeed, little qualified to rule a court so unused to coquetry as that of Scotland. The tenor of her early habits led her to despise those reserves which the Scottish dames had been tutored to consider virtues.

From her education in a country so rigidly catholic as France, Mary derived an error more fatal to her government, even than the perversion of morals too obvious in her conduct,—bigotted opinions concerning religion. It was the great object of her holy instructors to render Mary what they were pleased to term a pious princess. They effected their purpose, and plunged her country in calamity and bloodshed,

From the unhappy pertinacity with which she adhered to her religious sentiments, Mary derived her first misfortunes as a queen; but it is to her misconduct as a woman, that the most severe of her personal calamities must be ascribed. In vain is all the sophisticated labour of her defenders; in vain the idolatrous elegance with which they hang over the picture of her charms, (like the enthusiastic novelist, who becomes enamoured of the beauty of his heroine as he weaves the web of her destiny) a frightful catalogue of errors still remains, and pity must be unavoidably blended with disgust.

Her love for Darnley was a mere gust of passion. His lordship was in the first bloom of youth, and master of every courtly art that adds ease and elegance to beauty of exterior form. The queen was enraptured at first sight, and without much delicacy promoted, in spite of every obstacle, the consummation of a hasty union.

The tragical fate of this nobleman is well known. Whether the queen was privy to the assassination or not, the indifference with which she shortly

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treated him is well known to have proceeded from her affection for Bothwell. During the first frenzy of her passion, no court was more gay than that of Queen Mary, and Henry Darnley. At Cruickston-castle they passed several weeks of love and splendour. The lofty hall in which they regaled is still exempt from the ruin that has befallen the other parts of the castle; and there to this hour, thrives the queen's favorite yew, which she has so often impressed on her copper coins.—Linlithgow, likewise, witnessed their festivities; and, in the same palace, Mary practised some part of the hypocrisy with which she affected to nurse the sickness of a man, whose peace she was wounding through every accessible pore.

Another act of dissimulation in which Mary bore a share, was performed at Linlithgow.—When determined on a marriage with Bothwell, the queen, conversant in all the intriguing wiles of the French court, surrendered herself at Linlithgow a voluntary prisoner, in order to evade the censures of the world by an appearance of constraint.

Abandoned by Bothwell,* and opposed in the field by a combination of the Scottish nobles, Mary soon experienced all the miseries of a real confinement. The common people of Scotland appear to have been peculiarly inveterate in their dislike of the queen's conduct. When Mary entered the camp of her own nobles, abandoned and a prisoner, the soldiers poured upon her all the opprobrious names which are bestowed only on the lowest criminals. Wherever she turned her eyes, they held up before her a standard, on which was painted the dead body of the late King, stretched on the ground, and the young prince kneeling before it, and uttering these words, 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!'—It was now that Mary felt the woe of real captivity

* Few men have experienced so complete a reverse of fortune as this ambitious Earl. After his flight from Pinkey, he lurked, for some time, among his vassals at Dunbar; and, driven thence he retired to the Orkney Isles. Hunted from place to place, accompanied by a few retainers as desperate as himself, he endeavoured to procure subsistence by piracy. His little fleet was surprised while lying at anchor. A part of it was taken, and himself obliged to fly, with a single ship, towards Norway. On that coast, he fell in with a vessel richly laden, and immediately engaged it. After a desperate fight, Bothwell and all his crew were taken prisoners. His name and quality preserved him from the infamous death to which his associates were consigned, but did not mitigate the hardships of his imprisonment. He languished ten years in this unhappy condition. Melancholy and despair deprived him of reason, and at last he ended his days in a Norwegian dungeon, unpitied and unlamented.

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... she melted into tears, and was with difficulty kept from sinking on the ground.

The unjust severities of Queen Elizabeth were, at first, combatted by Mary with considerable spirit; and even with her supplicatory manner a portion of covert taunt is blended: "Good sister," says the Scottish queen, in a letter dated from Carlisle, July 1568, "be of another mind; win the heart, and all shall be your's and at your commandment. I thought to have satisfied you wholly if I might have seen you. Alas! do not as the serpent that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister, and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to hear, or read, the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died. Why should princes' ears be stopped, seeing that they are painted so long? (Meaning by which, that they should hear all, and be well advised before they answer.) I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the camelion, to turn you to my likeness; and, though I should be so dangerous and curst, as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constancy and justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well, with long and happy life."

There is no period of history more popular in this island than that which comprises the adventures of Mary, Queen of Scots. This does not appear to result from any peculiar point of interest contained in the political events of her reign, but from the picturesque situations in which the historian is enabled to place his heroine. Few romances can boast a more florid detail than the page of Mary's legend. A series of unusual circumstances, all connected with the more romantic propensities of the mind, attended her footsteps from the moment she lost sight of the French coast, when reluctantly sailing to take possession of the Scottish crown... that mournful moment in which she lingered on the deck, and, wiping a big tear from her eye, exclaimed, "Farewell, France! Farewell, beloved country, which I shall never more behold!"

The person of Mary, though undoubtedly beautiful, gains fresh charms, in imagination, from the contrast presented by Elizabeth. Those writers who describe her as ascending the scaffold (in her last awful hour) with "alacrity," forget that she grew extremely fat as she advanced in years, and that, for some time previous to her death, she had been afflicted with a rheumatism which deprived her of the use of her limbs.

One remaining historical circumstance, connected with Linlithgow, cannot

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properly be omitted, though the story may be said to appertain to the town rather than the castle ;—the assassination of Regent Murray.

No man acted a more conspicuous character during the minority of James VI. : to which monarch he was attached by a tie of blood, as natural brother to Queen Mary. Just and penetrating ; courageous and unpolished ; Murray possessed the chief qualifications requisite in a ruler of the Scots at this juncture. The two rival parties in religion now maintained their dispute with the most zealous acrimony. This contest was the touchstone of legislative ability. Murray was decidedly in favour of the Protestants ; but seems to have been perfectly aware of the political coolness necessary in a governor during every period disgraced by violent religious dissensions.

This nobleman, who had retired to France after the murder of Darnley, was promoted to the regency during the confinement of the queen at Lochleven. Immediately on his return, he waited on Mary in her solitude. "This visit," says Dr. Robertson, "to a sister and a queen, in a prison from which he had not any intention to relieve her, may be mentioned among the circumstances which discover the great want of delicacy and refinement in that age. Murray expostulated so warmly with the queen concerning her past conduct, and charged her faults so home upon her, that Mary, who had flattered herself with more gentle and brotherly treatment, melted into tears, and abandoned herself entirely to despair."

The escape of Mary (through the means of her keeper's brother, a youth whom she encouraged to hope that he might become her husband) gave the regent an opportunity of trying his strength and his talents. Mary soon collected an army of 6000 men ; while the regent, on whom these events suddenly burst as he was holding a court of justice at Glasgow, was provided with no greater train than was usual to times of peace. In this exigency the superiority of Murray's genius appeared. His friends warmly pressed him to retire ; but he firmly stood his ground, and amused the queen with pretended terms of negotiation, while he drew together his adherents from every part of the kingdom. With these he took the field. The queen was a spectator of the conflict from a hill no great distance ; and from this eminence she witnessed the destruction of her last hope, and the complete triumph of the regent.

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In a conference held at York, during which Elizabeth wished him to prefer an accusation against Mary, as a party concerned in the murder of her husband, Murray evinced real compassion for his royal sister by declining the task. So many political intrigues, however, darken this period of Scottish history, that it is plausibly contended, that his forbearance was caused by the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, who entertained designs on the crown of Scotland. By the ceaseless arts of Elizabeth, Murray was, subsequently, compelled either to prefer his accusation, or acknowledge himself guilty of rebellion. Nature readily dictated the course to be pursued, and thus he became, through too great a part of his administration, the inevitable tool of the English sovereign.

In his conflict with the Duke of Chatelherault, Murray shewed his accustomed promptitude. The Duke, with the high dignity of the queen's lieutenant-general in Scotland, and the fantastic appellation of her adopted father, endeavoured to exhilarate Mary's party to activity; but the regent watched his opportunity, seized the Duke in his own house, and conveyed him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. The subordinate members of the faction readily subscribed to the regent's superiority.

Murray had now attained power beyond the utmost hopes of his ambition. As was usually the case with persons of his character of birth, he had, at the commencement of life, obtained provision in the church. The perturbed events that succeeded the improvident marriages of his sister, called his abilities into full display; and it may be confidently affirmed that no administration but his own was likely to afford any semblance of tranquillity to Scotland at this period. Many failings, detestable in a tranquil era, candour may pass over as venial in the man possessing a plenitude of power that has been snatched from the ruins of an adverse faction. The dignified austerity of the prior of St. Andrew's certainly degenerated to pride in the person of the Lord Regent of Scotland, and the pity of the brother was absorbed in the indignation to which conscious superiority of rectitude is liable, when a monarch forgets all the duties that are due to the subject. Still, the regent's ambition did not betray him to any of those gloomy murders to which the age was addicted; and, all circumstances duly weighed, it is probable that his harsh treatment of Mary was stimulated by a conviction that her absence from power was necessary to the internal peace of her country.

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While beset with numberless anxieties, and replete with schemes of high national import, the regent was assassinated in the street of Linlithgow. This murder was effected by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been condemned to death soon after the battle of Langside, and who owed his life to the clemency of Murray. A part of his estate, however, had been bestowed on a favourite of the regent, and this miscreant seized Hamilton's house, and "turned out his wife, naked, in a cold night, into the open fields; where, before next morning, she became furiously mad. This injury made a deeper impression on him than the benefit he had received, and from that moment he vowed to be revenged on his presumed oppressor. Party-rage strengthened and inflamed his private resentment. His kinsmen, the Hamiltons, applauded the enterprise. The maxims of that age* justified the most desperate course he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the regent for some time, and watched for an opportunity to strike the blow. He resolved, at last, to wait till his enemy should arrive at Linlithgow, through which he was to pass in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh; he took his stand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the street; spread a feather-bed on the floor, to hinder the noise of his feet from being heard; hung up a black cloth behind him that his shadow might not be observed from without; and after all this preparation, calmly expected the regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a house not far distant. Some indistinct information of the danger which threatened him had been conveyed to the regent, and he paid so much regard to it, that he resolved not to return by the same gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compass round the town. But as the crowd about the gate was great, and he unacquainted with fear, he proceeded directly along the street;

* The crime of assassination was held in an insignificant light at this period, both by the French and the Scots, between whom there was a remarkable affinity of manners. It was not before the royal authority acquired additional vigour, from the accession of James VI. that a stop was put to the practice in Scotland. In 1417 it required all the eloquence and authority of the famous Gerson to prevail on the Council of Constance to condemn this proposition, "that there are some cases in which assassination is a virtue more meritorious in a knight than in a squire, and more meritorious in a king than in a knight." The tenor of this fact should ever be borne in remembrance by the reader, who forms a judgment of the human character from the representations of history.

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and the throng of people, by obliging him to move slowly, gave the assassin time to take so true an aim, that he shot him with a single bullet through the lower part of his belly, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his other side. His followers instantly endeavoured to break into the house whence the blow had come, but they found the door strongly barricaded, and before it could be forced open, Hamilton had mounted a fleet horse, which stood ready for him at a back passage, and was got far beyond their reach. The regent died the same night of his wound." *

Hamilton effected his escape to France, where he was solicited to destroy the Admiral Coligne. His answer is to the credit of his character:—"Injured affection compelled me to commit one murder, but an emperor's ransom should not induce me to prostitute my sword by a venal assassination."

Such are the principal occurrences connected with the royal building of Linlithgow. Though the palace has, for so considerable a period, ceased to be habitable, it still retains a noble keeper. The family of Livingstone formerly held the office, by hereditary tenure. The rebellion of 1716 transferred that honor to the house of Hamilton;—a lucrative trust, which it still possesses.

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 435.



J. Taylor del.

S. Porter. Sculp.

MARBLE PALACE ST. PETERSBURG

Historical View

OF

THE MARBLE PALACE,

ST. PETERSBURG.

THERE is no illustrious character of antiquity, or of modern times, which has attracted less notice or merited more admiration, than Peter the Great. His history deserves peculiar attention. The country which Alexander could not conquer was subdued by Peter, not by rapine and violence, by war and desolation; but by virtue, urbanity, and science. Historians condescend to venerate the plunderers and destroyers of mankind, but those who have distributed peace and happiness through all the degrees of rank, from the cottage to the throne, are neglected and forgotten. History is only useful as it conduces to the welfare of the species: the Iliad of Homer formed the mind of Philip's son, the curse of the human race: the history of Peter is adapted to infuse those pacific principles, which, in every age, are the blessing of society.

Whatever may be said of the ferocity of the Saracen, or of the barbarity of the Muscovite, the reigns of the Emperors of Turkey and of Russia, for a considerable period, were the most tranquil and durable of any of the potentates of Europe and Asia. Peter the Great ascended the throne in the year 1682, and, during his protracted government, founded Petersburg, the new capital of a dominion more extensive than the Roman Empire. The success of all the plans of this illustrious Prince, for the welfare of his people, depended on his skill in effecting an important change in the public mind: in the attempt, he had to contend with the ignorance and ferocity of the Sarmatian horde,

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and perhaps nothing shews more conspicuously his wisdom and sagacity, than the humane and familiar means he employed to accomplish this great design.

One of the most remarkable events connected with his reign, was the removal of his capital nearly 500 miles from the ancient seat of barbarian empire. Petersburg is built in the gulf of Cronstadt, intersected by artificial channels of the Neva, which limit the districts of the city. This magnificent capital, in the year 1702, was a putrid fen.

The first Admiralty division is in the centre of the residence. It is the smallest, but the most elegant. What the quartier du Palais Royal was to Paris, this division is to St. Petersburg, the heart of the city, in which luxury and wealth have established their seat, the centre of amusement and business, the brilliant resort of pleasure and fashion. Within its circuit are three-and-twenty structures of magnitude, of which the imperial winter palace is the most conspicuous. Next in rank is the Marble Palace; it forms a quadrangle, and at one extreme are two projecting wings. The main front has a spacious court, bound by the manege of the palace. This gigantic pile is composed of three stories, and the general effect is in a high degree magnificent: the basement is of granite, the superstructure of gray marble, decorated with columns and pilasters of red marble; the roof is supported by iron bars, and is covered with sheet-copper; the window-frames are of brass richly gilt, and the balconies of the same material. The marble and metallic ornaments meet the eye in every direction, and call to the mind of the astonished spectator the oriental tales of golden palaces; but when the first paroxysm of admiration has subsided, and time is allowed to survey the edifice with the eye of an artist, he observes some defects. The colour of the marble is too dark, and the general character is too ponderous. The principle façade ought certainly to have been erected toward the Neva, from whose shores it would have risen like a splendid temple dedicated to the gods of this imperial river.

The palace was built originally for the favorite of Catherine II. before she ascended the throne; his name was Gregory Orloff. Of the family of Orloff there were five brothers, who rose to consideration in the state; and if we may confide in the authority of a French writer, one of them, Alexis, afterwards admiral in the Turkish war in 1768, was instrumental in the barbarous

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regicide committed on the person of Catherine's husband. Gregory neither possessed the advantages of birth or education; but he was endowed with personal courage and manly beauty. It was a species of vanity with Count Peter Schuwaloff, commander of the corps of artillery to which Orloff belonged, to employ the handsomest men to attend his person in the office of aides-de-camp, and on this account he selected Gregory. For the same reason the Princess Kourakin, who was the commander's mistress, preferred the new attendant to his general: Schuwaloff discovered their intrigue, and threatened to cool his ardour amid the snows of Siberia. The adventure attracted general notice; the more clamorous the mortified commander, the greater was the risibility he excited: the profligate maxims of a court on such occasions, admit a very small degree of compassion to be exercised toward the sufferer, and very little resentment to the intruder. Orloff rather attracted envy than indignation, and the Arch-Duchess Catherine was extremely curious to see this irresistible aide-de-camp. Iwanoffna, her woman, procured an interview; the connection was frequent; Orloff became the partner of her pleasure, and the associate of her ambition: in the latter he was at this time probably her sole confidant, in the former he had many coadjutors.

It is computed, as nearly as possible, that Catherine expended on the companions of her sexual pleasures, during the thirty-four years of her reign, a sum equal to £20,000,000 sterling, so that the imperial establishment dedicated to Venus, may be estimated at the annual charge of nearly £600,000. After Orloff had been rejected, he unexpectedly appeared at the residence of the Court; the Empress knew the violence of his temper, the guard of the palace was double, and the military were stationed to protect the person of the new favorite. These precautions were unnecessary, the unsupported valor of Orloff must prove ineffectual; he was disgraced, and therefore he was abandoned. The intrepidity of the discarded lover was not easily shaken: messengers on the part of the Empress demanded of him the resignation of his employment—he sent them back unsatisfied. The Empress could easily punish the subject who resisted her will, but she was disposed to treat with indulgence the friend she had cherished in her bosom. Orloff, who would not submit to violence, yielded to the condescension of his royal mistress, whose generosity conferred upon him, as the price of his submission,

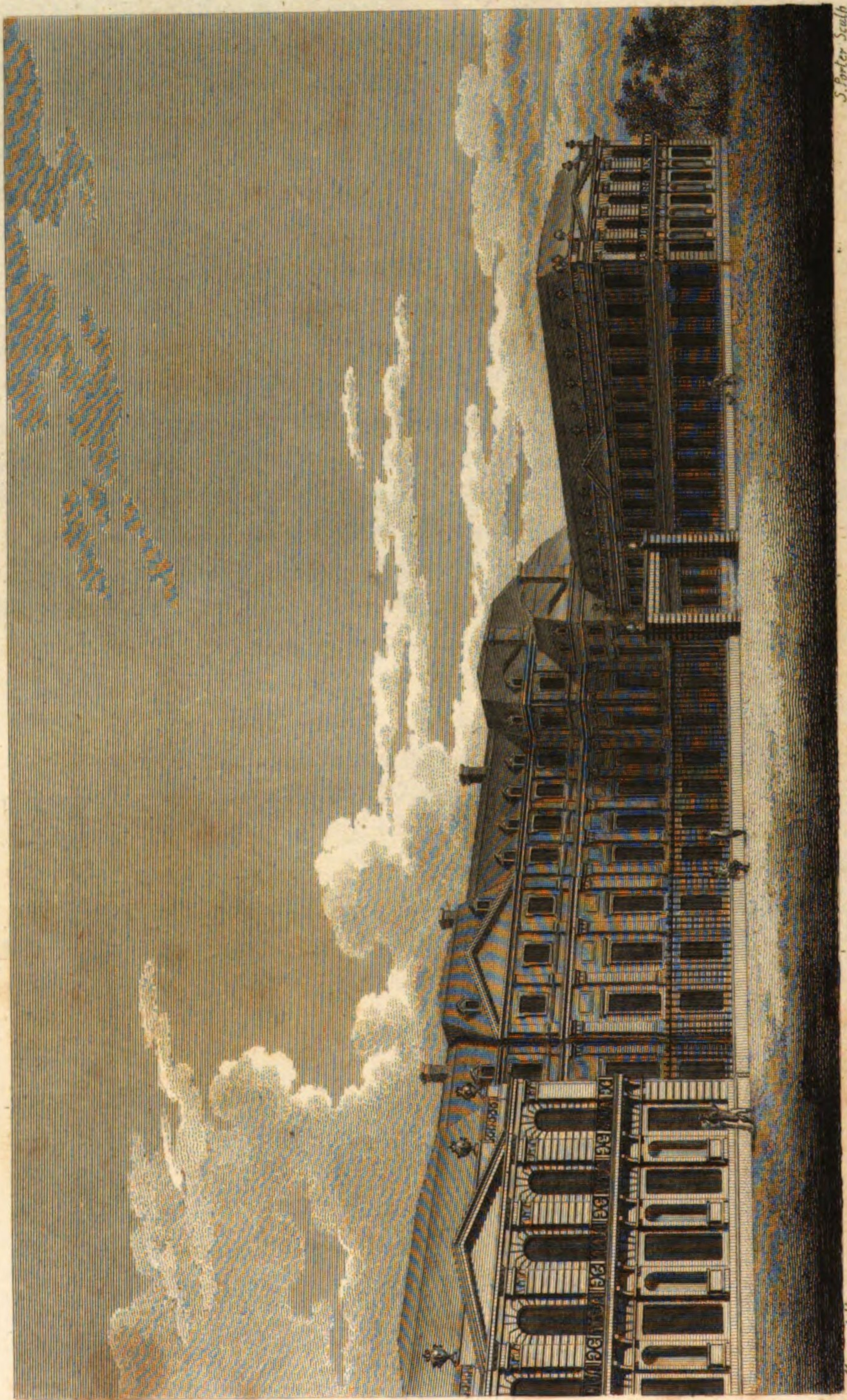
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100,000 rubles, a pension of 50,000, a silver vessel of singular magnificence, and an estate (in the Russian mode of computation) of 6000 peasants. He had already obtained the diploma of Prince of the Empire; as it was his intention to travel, Catherine wished him to assume the title, ambitious no doubt, that he should appear at foreign courts with the dignity due to the imperial favorite.

The liberality of the Empress could not administer consolation to Orloff; he had married a young and beautiful woman, but the accession of the new favorites was to him insupportable. He endeavoured to amuse his mind by travelling:—during his stay at Lausanne his wife died, which involved him in the most poignant grief. Soon after this event he returned to court, where he affected the most extravagant gaiety, to the malicious amusement of the courtiers, who were well acquainted with the history of his disappointment. Orloff at length retired to Moscow, where he died in despair.

On this event the Marble Palace devolved back to the Empress; and during her life it remained uninhabited. Paul, her successor, having invited Stanislaus Poniatowsky, King of Poland (her early favorite) to Petersburg, he made this the place of his residence, where he terminated his inglorious life.

The view we have given of the Marble Palace, in the plate, is sufficient to shew it to be a building of considerable magnificence. It is of the composite order; the columns are tolerably correct in the base and the shaft, but not perfectly so in the capital and entablature. When we consider that so short a period has elapsed since the time when almost every building in the Russian empire was of unhewn wood, we are astonished at the rapid improvement in the arts, which exhibits, in so striking a view, the wisdom and energy of the Imperial Throne.



ST. CLOUD.

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Proof

Description

THE PALACE OF ST. CLOUD;

WITH
ANECDOTES OF THE COURT OF FRANCE.

THE gallantry of the French people has exposed their government, in a peculiar degree, to the influence of women;* accustomed, in the ordinary intercourse of life, to prostrate themselves before these idols of their vanity or their passion, the imperial command devolved so naturally into female hands, that it appeared the only exercise of legitimate power, the only means to deprive authority of the character of brutal force, and to invest it with the awful form of divinity, to which perfect obedience is an unceasing obligation.

What is the history of Europe during the eighteenth century? There is no great public transaction in which Madame de Maintenon, Elizabeth Farnese, Maria Theresa, the second Catherine, and Maria Antoinette, have not been the most powerful agents; and it is well known that a grizette, a courtesan,

* Women, in all ages and in all countries, have had a peculiar influence on the manners, tastes, and pursuits of mankind; yet, surprising as it may appear, their education has ever been marked by the most disgraceful inattention. "Why mankind (says a recent author) have so uniformly neglected the heart and understanding of a creature whose person has called forth their warmest panegyrics, and whose shrine they have approached with the richest incense of idolatry and adulation, is a phenomenon which has never yet been satisfactorily accounted for."—See *Desultory Remarks on Female Education*, by a late *Kingswood Scholar*, published by F. Westley. The reason is there, in some degree, explained.

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and three prostituted sisters, exercised an undisputed controul over the most dignified monarchy of the continent.* These women were not contented with the humble office of pulling the strings for the royal puppet behind the scenes, but they advanced forward on the stage, glittered beneath the imperial canopy, and held audiences of state, in the array of Indian magnificence. Embassadors to these Cytherean queens were not chosen for the profundity of their wisdom or the dignity of their station, but for their skill in intrigue, their insinuating address, and the virility of their form. If the hoary annalist feel it an insult to the importance of his profession, to detail the history of the toilette, let him read the official instruments which passed during the reign of Lewis XV. between the courts of Versailles, Vienna, and Potsdam; let him repair to Berlin, and examine the vessels of massive gold, and the gems of purest ray, which once embellished the apartments, and decorated the person of the authoress of the "Seven Years War," and reduced the domain of Frederic the Great to the narrow boundary of the encampment his army occupied. After he has been so employed, he will condescend to repair with us to the Palace of St. Cloud, and will acknowledge himself to be more advantageously instructed in affairs of state, in the Pavillon de la Felicité, than in the eleven parliaments of the kingdom.

St. Cloud is watered by the river Seine, at the distance of about six miles from Paris. The origin of the name is from Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy. It has been called by the continental lawyers a ducal peerage, and was attached to the archbishopric of Paris, the incumbent of which, from this qualification, attained the rank of Duke of St. Cloud and peer of France. The approach to the village is over a stone bridge, which leads to the Palace through a protracted avenue. It was occupied by the royal family in the troublesome reign of Henry III. and here that prince fell under the hand of the assassin.

James Clement, a young Dominican monk, worked up to religious frenzy by his fanatical companions of the cloister, issued from the darkness of his

* The first is Mlle. Lange, from the stews of Paris; the second is, Madame de Pompadour, who expired by poison in 1764. The three Paphian sisters were Mesdames de Mailly, de Vintimille, and de Chateauroux. Of Vintimille it was said, by Mad. de Flavacourt, that she had the size of a grenadier, the neck of a crane, and the smell of an ape.

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cell to the splendors of the palace, confident of obtaining a heavenly crown by wresting the earthly diadem from the head of his sacrilegious prince. He procured false letters of credence, and was admitted to the royal cabinet. Having delivered his papers, he approached his sovereign, as if to impart some matters of great moment; at that instant, he drew a poniard from beneath his tunic, and sheathed it in the vitals of Henry. The prince himself drew it forth from the wound, and screaming aloud for assistance, struck the monk with the reeking weapon on the forehead. The attendants rushed in, pierced the delinquent with an hundred swords, and, in the fury of their indignation, threw the mangled carcase from the window, from whence it appeared, dashed to pieces on the platform. Thus fell the last prince of the illustrious house of Valois.

The palace afterwards devolved to the Goudy family, from which it was obtained by Lewis XIV. for his brother the Duke of Orleans. It is considered one of the most beautiful royal residences of the kingdom; the situation, the views, the cascades, the woods, the statuary, and the architecture, all contribute to reward the curiosity of the spectator. Two courts appear in the front, the nearer being a terrace considerably elevated above the more remote. The building is composed of a centre and wings, the latter being united to the main building by the mediation of two pavilions. The central façade is about one hundred and fifty feet wide, and rises to the altitude of about seventy-five. On entering the inner court, in the niches of the right wing we observe four statues, representing Eloquence, Music, Youth, and Jollity. On the left are Momus, a Bacchante, Peace, and Riches. The most remarkable of the apartments are the celebrated gallery of Apollo, and the two saloons to which the left wing is devoted: these are connected in one line, and, at the extreme, open to an orangery, through which is seen, in the distance, as on the disk of a telescope, the city of Paris, and the expansive vale where it reposes. In the great saloon, which precedes the gallery, are beautiful paintings, giving the progressive history of the loves of Mars and Venus. Cupids are represented as disarming the god of his beamy terrors before he approach the yielding form of his divine mistress: but the discreet artist has given a lesson of caution to sensuality in the figure of the son of Latona, who appears as the effulgent orb of day, discovering to Vulcan the lascivious dalliance of

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his wife with her ardent paramour. In the gallery are represented the birth of Apollo and Diana, and various amorous stories from the classic poets.

The gardens are not in the modern style, but in the formality of the last century.

If the reader should have condescended to accompany us thus far in this little circuit, and shall have considered that some conclusion may be drawn on the sensuality and the pride of courts from this description, he perhaps will not be less instructed in the characters of public life, by a few moments attention to its late occupants.

It is confidently reported that Egalité (Duke of Orleans) lost this mansion and its dependencies to Marie Antoinette at the gaming-table. While it was in his princely possession, we know that the orgies of Bacchus were held there, and that all the pranks of the Ascolia and Dionysia were permitted and performed. When it devolved to the successful female competitor, it still continued a temple worthy of the son of Semele. The Queen of France forsook the magnificent palaces of the line of Bourbon, and in the Trianon and St. Cloud, devoted herself to those festivities which were inconsistent with her station as a princess, and her delicacy as a woman. We are not disposed to soil our pages with the obscenities described by the pen of Soulavie;* but our annalist will acknowledge, that it is the duty of the historian to proclaim the vices of distinguished characters, that mankind may not entrust their dearest interests to panders and harlots, but attend to every means of defence they can derive from equal laws and legitimate power. It is a fact which cannot be disputed, that the acknowledged consort of Lewis XVI. condescended to become an instrument as destructive to France, as the concubines of his predecessor; that the Pavillon de la Felicité, (for such was the name she assigned the retreat of lascivious indulgence), was not only the scene of her amours, with the Dillons and Cognis of her pleasures, but that the arcana of the political and Cyprian cabinets were unveiled at the same instant, and St. Cloud was thus rendered the theatre of public and private prostitution.

* Memoires Hist. et Polit. de Louis XVI. par Soulavie.



J. Storer Sculp.

Proof

KENSINGTON PALACE

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J. Taylor del.

Description

OF

KENSINGTON PALACE AND GARDENS;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON PICTURESQUE SCENERY.

KENSINGTON PALACE was purchased by William III. for the sum of £20,000, of the Earl of Nottingham, soon after his accession, and it continued to be the residence of the royal family during the three succeeding reigns. It is a large, irregular edifice, the architecture of which admits no general description, because it violates every principle of the art. The state-apartments consist of a suite of twelve rooms. The ceilings and the great staircase were painted by Kent. The latter exhibits a groupe of portraits, among which is his own; and his humour has assigned to himself as a companion Peter the Wild Boy, with whom he might study nature in her rudest form.* In one of the galleries there is a very fine drawing in chalk, six yards in length, by Casanova, of an altar-piece, from Raphael. The only statuary deserving notice is an antique in the privy-chamber, representing Mariniana, the niece of Trajan. The green-house is near the north-east angle of the principal structure; within, we observe the absurdity of Corinthian columns; and without, rusticated pilasters and projections, to prevent, as much as possible, the access of the solar beam. We understand Queen Ann was partial to taking her evening refreshment within this edifice. The affected stateliness

* Our readers may find a catalogue of the English portraits in this palace, in "The Environs of London," by the Rev. Daniel Lysons, 4to. Vol. III. pages 183 and 184.

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of the structure is certainly much better adapted to a banquetting-room than to the purpose for which it was designed ; and the architect was indebted to the complaisance of his royal mistress, who, when the building was wholly inefficient to the original intention, contrived to apply it to another use, to which it was much better adapted.

Accustomed to the contracted limits of Dutch horticulture, William contented himself with the grounds in their original state, comprising only twenty-six acres. Queen Ann added thirty more, which were squared out in the native formality of her gardener, Mr. Wise.

“ Hinc et nexilibus vineas è frondibus hortos,

“ Implexos latè muros, et mœnia circum

“ Porrigene, et latas è ramis surgere turres.”*

But, on these gardens devolving to the care of Mr. Bridgeman, a beautiful

* It seems highly probable, that the lawn before the south façade of Kensington Palace was a Roman military road. London was the terminus of many itinera, which were anciently known by the names of Watling-street, Hermin-street, Fosse, and Iknild-street ; and so important did that victorious people consider the preservation of these to the purposes of their government, that a system of laws was established for the regulation of these great outlets from the capital, known by the name of *Pax Quatour Cheminorum*.

The military road of which we are speaking is the first we have named ; which, occupying a line due-west, entered the country of the Atrebates, over the bridges of the Tamesis, at Pontes ; it then extended north-west to Calleva ; from thence it advanced to the coast, in a line due-south, passing Venta in its progress, and meeting the sea at Clausentum, which it left in a right angle, and, proceeding east, terminated at Regnum. Clausentum is the county of the Segontiaci ; the latter is the capital of the Regni.

The modern names of these are as follow :

Atrebates.....Bucks. and part of Berks.

Pontes.....Old Windsor.

Clausentum.....Old Southampton.

Segontiaci.....Hampshire.

Calleva Silchester.

VentaWinchester.

Regium.....Chichester

Regni Surry and Sussex.

Chester, in the name of towns, denotes *Castra Stativa*, or Roman stations. In the preceding observations we have followed Dr. Horsley in his *Britannia Romani*, comparing his curious itinerary of Antoninus with the maps of the celebrated D'Anville. The inquisitive student will, however, discover a material difference in the distances calculated by these two learned geographical antiquarians ; the computation of the former is 96 miles, the latter extends it to about 150 miles, so illusive are sometimes the labours of the profound scholar.

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sweep of 300 acres, inclosed from Hyde Park, was united to the gardens, and they were thus rendered worthy the royal occupation. But the principal picturesque embellishments were from the taste of Mr. Kent, and, subsequently, of a gentleman whose talents acquired him the familiar appellation of Capability Brown.

The premises, in their present state, comprehend something more than 350 acres, their figure approaching the quadrangular form. The boundaries by the Acton and Kensington roads, by Hyde Park, and by the fields adjacent to the Holland estate, are too well known to need a particular description.

It is an acknowledged principle that the mansion to which extensive gardens belong, should be placed nearly in the centre; that it should not be elbowed by church-yards, roads, and cottages, but have ample room on every side. The reader will immediately perceive that the situation of Kensington Palace is not consistent with this rule of taste.

Besides several obvious inconveniences from the awkward position, the beauty of the Serpentine road, in which all the magic of the scenery is to be gradually disclosed, is lost, for we cannot justify giving our friends a circuitous course when a direct road is obvious to the eye, and hence the artificial interposition of water or wood is necessary where any deviation is introduced from the right line of approach.

Another acknowledged maxim is, that where the ground itself is flat, every possible variety should be given in the wood and water. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of Messrs. Bridgman, Kent, and Brown, we yet discern the folly of Mr. Wise, which rendered the equality of surface more insipid by the uniformity of his designs. The most remarkable defect of this kind is adjacent to the green-house or banquetting-room. Here are not, indeed, giants, dragons, and dolphins, in yew, box, and holly, but these monsters are metamorphosed into walls, niches, and columns, in the true style of the gardens of our universities, where they prefer Lais to Lucretius, and Phryne to Pliny.

The terrace and the walks adjacent to the house are in the style of Bridgman. Notwithstanding this improver had introduced cultivated tracts, and even small portions of forest-scenery into ornamental horticulture, of which we

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have pleasing examples in these gardens, yet he still preserved his attachment to strait walks and high sloped hedges in the neighbourhood of the dwelling, and this error is not only seen in the entire west-side from one extremity to the other, but is discerned in by far the greater part of the northern and southern enclosures. In all ornamented ground, the limits should be completely hid from every place where curiosity would lead the step of the wanderer: the expedient for this purpose is either by a shrubbery intermixed with umbrageous trees, or by a narrow grove where small trees, or a portion of underwood, is admitted, to obstruct the step of the inquisitive. Some of our readers will recollect that, at the south-west and north-east angles, this deception is agreeably employed. The greater part of the boundary of Kensington gardens is of the most offensive kind; it consists, to the north and south, of a heavy dark brick wall, and to the west principally of a cut quick-hedge, the formality of which, however appropriate to a *ferme ornée*, is not adapted to embellished horticulture.

The fertile imagination of Mr. Kent suggested the highest improvements in artificial scenery, and he is justly complimented in the harmonious numbers of Mason, who introduces into a few lines the instructive lessons of his art.

“ Say, lovely lawn, that felt his forming hand,
How soon thy surface shone with verdure new;
How soon obedient Flora brought her store,
And o’er thy breast a shower of fragrance flung:
Vertumnus came, his earliest blooms he bore,
And thy rich sides with waving purple hung.
Then to the sight he called yon stately spire,
He pierc’d the opposing oak’s luxuriant shade.
Bade yonder crowding hawthorn low retire,
Nor veil the glories of the sylvan mead.”

The boldest embellishment is from this artist: it consists in the fosse or ha! ha! toward Hyde-Park, which connects with the gardens the beauty of that tract of ground, and the whole range of the Serpentine river, by which it is intersected. From the instant the ha! ha! was resorted to, all the subsequent improvements must in course occur to the man of taste; the contrast between

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the formality of the gardens and the free character of rural scenery was too disgusting to be long admitted. It became now necessary to combine the style of the one with the other; tameness and foppery were abandoned, and the energy and liberty of nature prevailed. The gradation, however, is not correctly preserved in the grounds of Kensington: the extreme richness and luxuriance of the garden is precipitately interrupted by the deficiency of wood in the Park, and if the projections of the fosse and the copses with which the enclosed tract is surmounted, in some small degree relieve this defect, yet it is much too obtrusive, and ought to be corrected by extensive plantations, to harmonize the general character. The only portion where the correspondence is at all preserved, is on the shelving banks of the Serpentine river, and even here the few straggling trees of the Park, although of considerable magnitude, are very far from accomplishing the design.

All the views from the south and east façades of the edifice suffer from the absurdity of the early inspectors of these grounds. The three vistas opening from the latter, without a single wave in the outline, without a clump or a few insulated trees to soften the glare of the champagne, or diminish the oppressive weight of the incumbent grove, are among the greatest deformities. The most exquisite view in the gardens is near the north-east angle at the ingress of the Serpentine river, which takes an easy wind toward the Park, and is ornamented on either side by sloping banks, with scenery of a different character.* To the left the wood presses boldly on the water, whose polished bosom seems timidly to recede from the dark intruder: to the right, a few truant foresters interrupt the uniformity of the parent grove, which rises at some distance on the more elevated part of the shore, and through the boles of the trees are discovered minute tracts of landscape, in which the eye of taste can observe sufficient variety of light and shade of vegetable and animal life,

* This river, which expands its broad surface in these grounds, shows the facility with which an insignificant rill may be converted into an object of great beauty. The spring first forms a contemptible stream near the base of Hampstead Hill (which is part of a continued chain extending from the borders of Essex, nearly to the confines of Buckinghamshire), from thence it proceeds south by West End, Kilborne, and Paddington, entering the gardens at Bayswater, where it is artificially widened till it leaves Hyde-Park, from whence it hurries onward, in a contracted channel, to the Thames, in which it disappears at Chelsea.

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to gratify the imagination and disappoint the torpor, which the more sombre scenery to the east is accustomed to invite.

The pencil of Claude and Poussin was employed on general landscape; and the transport inspired by their works is from the composition and general effect, not from the exact resemblance of objects, to which Swanevelt and Waterloo were so scrupulously attentive. In the landscape of nature, as well as in the feeble imitations of the artist, individuals deserve some attention. The largest and most beautiful of all the productions of the earth is a tree. As the effulgent tints of the insect must yield to the elegance and proportion of the other orders of animals, when contemplated by our imperfect optics, so the gorgeous radiance of the flower must bend its coronal honors to this gigantic offspring of nature, whose ample foliage receives all the splendid effects of light and shade, and gives arrangement and composition to landscape. The trees that conduce to the sublime in scenery are the oak, the ash, the elm, and the beech. It is a defect in the gardens at Kensington, that, excepting the elm, the whole of this beautiful fraternity is excluded, so that all the variety of tint in the spring and autumn is lost, and the gardens burst into the luxuriance of summer, and hasten to the disgrace of winter, without those gradations which indulgent nature has contrived to moderate our transport on the approach of one, and to soften our griefs on the appearance of the other. The dusky fir is the only melancholy companion the elm is here permitted to possess, who seems to raise his tall funereal head to insult his more lively associate with approaching decay. If in spring we have not here all the colours of the rainbow, in the forms of nascent existence; if in autumn the yellow of the elm, the orange of the beech, and the glowing brown of the oak, do not blend their fading honors, it must be acknowledged that the elm is one of the noblest ornaments of the forest; it is the medium between the massive unyielding arm of the oak and the versatile pliancy of the ash; it out-tops the venerable parent of the grove, and seems to extend its mighty limbs towards heaven, in bold defiance of the awful monarch of the wood.

Besides the disadvantage from the uniformity in the umbrageous furniture of these gardens, there is another, which we hardly know whether to attribute to design or accident. A tree rising like an artificial pillar from the smooth earth, without exposing any portion of the bold angles of its root, not only

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loses half its strength, but almost all its dignity. Pliny, desirous of giving a grand idea of the Hercynian forest, describes the magnitude of the trees in that ancient domain of the Sylvani to be sufficient to admit cavalry mounted to pass beneath the huge radical curves.* Whatever ornament Pliny's extravagance might attribute in this respect on the broad expanse of solitary nature, this gigantic wildness would not be at all adapted to these pigmy haunts of man; but some resemblance, some approach, should be attempted to the magnificence of her operations.

—————"A huge oak, dry and dead,
Still cull'd with relics of its trophies old,
Lifting to heaven its aged hoary head."

Such an object, with some of our readers, would be considered a venerable inmate of these gardens, and to us it would be infinitely preferable to the trim expedients of art. The insulated majesty of this ancient possessor of the soil would prevent the intrusion of the timid hand of man, and the character which this parent of the forest would impart to the general scenery, would secure it from sacrilegious profanation.

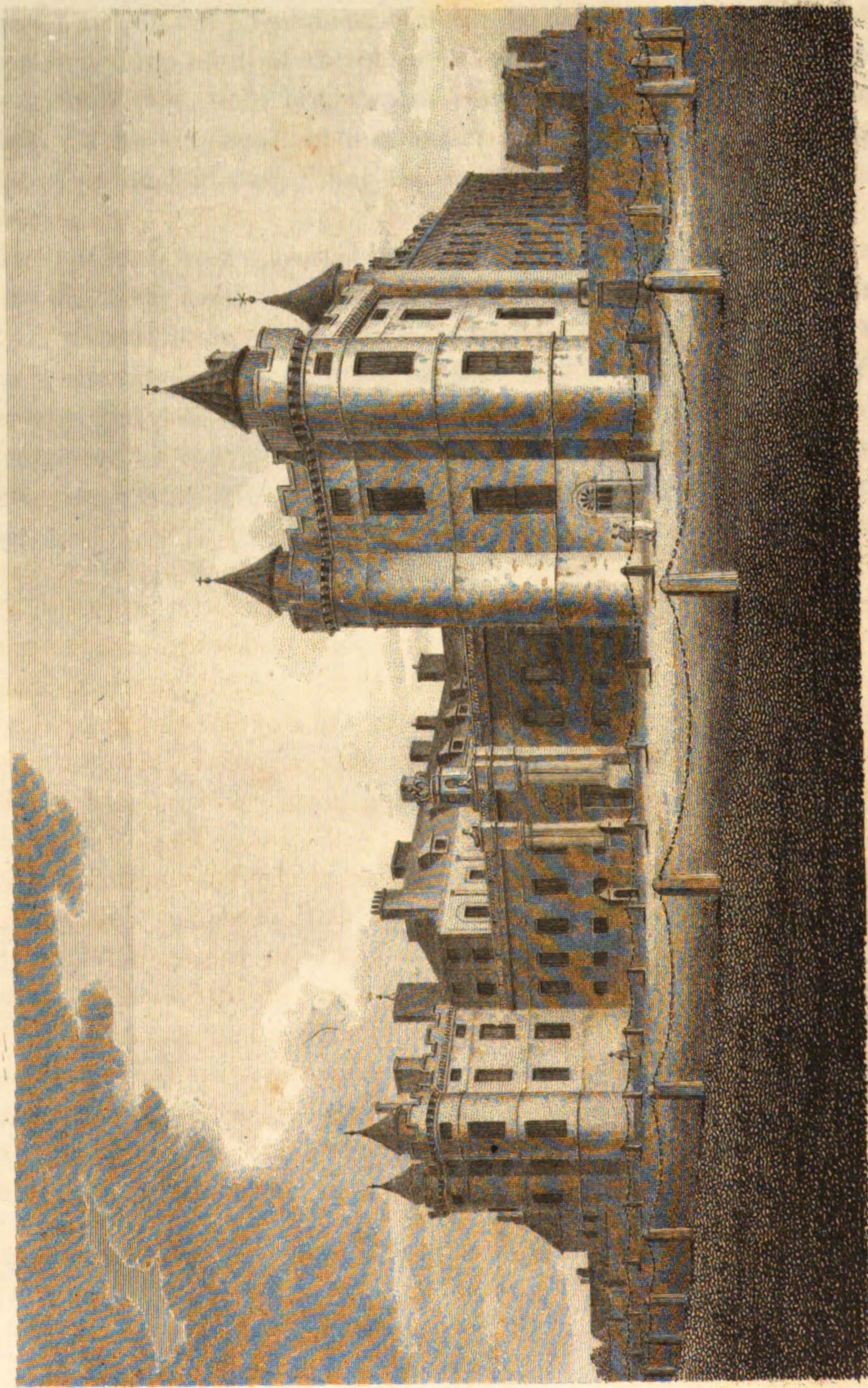
We have, therefore, regretted that these primeval inhabitants have been submitted to the axe, and we are inclined to coincide with Kent, in the propriety of introducing dead trees to heighten the pleasures of contrast. The most accomplished artists have considered this necessary in the composition of landscape; and where the face of nature is grossly distorted in artificial gardening, it may be sometimes proper to restore her by these expedients. The naturalist, Lawson, who never lost sight of the profits of a timber-merchant, complains of the numerous trees, whose stems have been shattered by winds, or whose lofty branches have been scathed and withered, while the lower part remains in vigour. Had this gentleman contemplated the productions from the pencil of Salvator Rosa, he would have seen, that these objects, which he considered monsters of vegetable deformity, were those that artist

* In eadem Septentrionali plaga Hercyniæ silvæ Roborum vastitas intacta ævis, et congenita mundo, prope immortalis sorte miracula excedit. Ut alia imitantur fide caritura: constat attolli colles occursantium inter se radicem percussu: Aut ubi secuta tellus non sit, arcus ad ramos usque, et ipsos inter se rixantes, curvari portarum patentium modo, ut turmas equitum transmittant.—*Pliny de Nat. Hist. Lib. xvi. cap 2.*

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has often selected for his foreground. The duty of the painter and the poet is not to unfold the phenomena of nature in detail, but, by a prominent object, to convey to the mind of the observer, ideas of her beauty and magnificence. Rosa would not, therefore, choose a bush or a tender tree for an adjacent object, for he was sensible this would not impart dignity, like the mighty ruins of an ancient oak, filling the active imagination with all the terrors of the storm.

Delightful as may appear the wonders of vegetable life, and extravagantly as we may have toiled the subject, the visitor of Kensington Gardens cannot be less pleased with the features of animal existence, when these walks and groves are filled with company, dressed in their gayest apparel, seeking the laughing hours on the level lawn, or beneath the umbrageous canopy, and, in imitation of the fair inhabitants of Paradise, gaze, in transport, on the most exquisite works of the Deity, reflected on the pellucid mirror of the waters.



PALACE OF HOLYROOD

London. Published by W.H. Wyatt, Dec. 1st 1849.

The Palace

HOLY-ROOD HOUSE,

EDINBURGH.

THE Palace of Holy-rood House* is of a quadrangular form, with a court in the centre, surrounded by piazzas. The front is two stories high, and flat in the roof; but at each end, where the front projects, and is ornamented with circular towers at the angles, the building is much higher; the rest of the Palace is three stories high. Over the door, in the front of the Palace, is a small cupola for a clock, the roof of which is an imperial crown in stone-work.

The only apartments which are worth viewing are those possessed by the Duke of Hamilton, who is heritable keeper of the Palace. These occupy all that remains of the old Palace. The young chevalier lodged in them during his residence in Edinburgh, and a few weeks afterwards the Duke of Cumberland occupied the same apartments and the same bed. In the second floor are Queen Mary's apartments, in one of which her own bed still remains. Close to the floor of this room a piece of wainscot, about a yard square, hangs upon hinges, and opens to a trap-stair, which communicates with the apartment beneath. Through this passage the conspirators rushed in to murder Rizzio.

Those chambers which are called the royal apartments occupy three sides of the square on the first floor. On the north is a spacious gallery, of which,

* This Palace was erected by the direction of Charles II. under the superintendance of Sir William Brewer.

HOLY-ROOD HOUSE.

however, the height bears no proportion to the length. This apartment is entirely hung with pictures of a race of monarchs,—through an imaginary series of upwards of 2,000 years !

We afterwards went through a suite of rooms, one of which has been intended for a state bed-chamber, and the two next for a drawing-room and dining-room. In the last of these we saw some wooden forms, and, upon inquiring what purpose they served, were told that they were to accommodate the Scottish peerage, as the election of the sixteen was held in that apartment. In this suite the rooms are wainscotted with oak ; the festoons of flowers, and foliage over the doors and mantle-pieces, are well executed ; but the stucco ornaments of the roofs, similar to all those of that period, are heavy. The apartments on the south side of the square have never been finished but in a very pitiful manner. We found them made use of as lumber-rooms for some of the nobility, who have lodgings within the Palace.

The environs of the Palace afford an asylum for insolvent debtors. Adjoining to it there is an extensive park ; first inclosed by James V. all of which is a sanctuary.* This is a very singular piece of ground to be in the near neighbourhood of a populous city. It is little else than an assemblage of hills, rocks, precipices, morasses, and lakes. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the level strip at the foot of the hill, which, from the Duke of York having delighted to walk in it, is called the Duke's walk, was covered with tall oaks. But now there is hardly a single tree in its whole boundaries. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful if, except at the bottom, there ever were any trees on these hills, the height of the ground and barrenness of the soil being very unfavorable for their growth.

The most considerable of these hills are called Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Craigs. The former, the largest of these hills, rises by a steep and rugged ascent till it terminates in a rocky point, 700 feet high from the base. Upon the west are Salisbury Craigs, which present to the city an awful front of broken rocks and precipices, forming a sort of natural amphitheatre of solid rock.

* When a part of the Palace was recently fitted up, by order of government, for the accommodation of the Count d'Artois, that nobleman, though a foreigner, claimed the benefit of this asylum.

HOLY-ROOD HOUSE.

Among these rocks are rich ores, spar, and a great variety of rock plants, * so that they are an excellent field for the naturalist. Sometimes, also, amethysts and other precious stones have been found among them. But the rocks themselves are far more valuable, affording an inexhaustible supply of hard stone for paving the streets, and of these stones considerable quantities are sent for paving the streets of London. Between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Craigs is a recluse valley, the bottom of which is a morass. Immediately upon descending into this valley, the view of Edinburgh is totally lost; the imperial prospect of the city and castle, which these rocks in a manner overhang, is intercepted by Salisbury Craigs. Seldom are human beings to be met in this lonely vale, or any creatures to be seen, but the sheep feeding on the mountain, and the hawks and ravens winging their flight among the rocks. After the eye passes the ruins of St. Anthony's chapel, at a distance beneath are seen a magnificent mausoleum, and the ruins of the church of Restalrig, and the fields gently sloping to the Forth. The Town of Leith, the navigation in the river, and the island of Inchkeith, enliven the prospect, which is terminated by the bold shores and mountainous parts of Fife.

On the south, Arthur's Seat is, in many parts, a perpendicular rock, composed of natural pillars, regularly pentagonal or hexagonal, about three feet in diameter, and from forty to fifty feet high. At the bottom of the rock is a lake belonging to the Earl of Abercorn, called Duddingston Lock; beyond it are seen his lordship's elegant villa, Craigmillar Castle, the village of Inveresk, Musselburgh Bay, the southern banks of the Forth, and, at a great distance, North Berwick Law, like a vast cone, seeming to rise from the waves.

From the foregoing description it will appear that Holy-rood House is replete with charms of the most fascinating aspect, though it is evident that the building itself has no legitimate claim to grandeur, and is entirely destitute of all regularity of architectural character. Gothic turrets and Ionic pilasters are intermixed without any regard to taste or consistency. The quadrangular form of the edifice prevents the accomplishment of a striking display of the whole, without any necessity existing for such a mode of conformation. Yet a quadrangular form of structure, by producing a variety of fronts, affords the

* The hills contiguous to Arthur's seat present specimens of 400 different species.

HOLY-ROOD HOUSE.

architect an opportunity of exhibiting fertility of genius. In some quadrangular buildings we see such variations of beauty as possess a separate whole of magnificence, without violating the leading characteristic of the edifice. But this is not the case with the Palace of Holy-rood House. The reign of Charles was, indeed, not favorable to the arts. The King preferred the drama, when debased by a meretricious jingle; and, in architecture, he was pleased only with tinsel extravagance, and such a combination of minute particulars as was pretty, rather than chaste or grand.

The remains of the monastery of the holy-cross, or rood, join to the Palace. This abbey was founded by King David I. and the following story is told concerning its origin:—As the King was hunting in the forest of Drumselch, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh, he was assailed by an enraged stag, who unhorsed him in an instant, and would probably have put a very speedy termination to his royal existence, had not this Scottish monarch, like the first Christian emperor, been an especial favorite with the saints. As a reward for the piety of King David, and in consideration of his great liberality to churchmen, a cross descended from heaven, in the moment of his danger, with which he stoutly attacked the beast, who soon found what sort of a weapon was raised against him, and was glad to make the best of his way to the woods, leaving the king and the cross a complete triumph. King David would have been little better than a brute if he had not allowed that this was an uncommon exertion of the saints in his favor, and he very properly determined to prove his gratitude by some lasting mark of his veneration for the church. Accordingly, in the year 1128, he founded the abbey of Holy-rood for the canons-regular of St. Augustine.

In addition to many other valuable privileges, these canons were permitted to erect a borough between the town of Edinburgh and Holy-rood church, which still retains the name of *Canongate*. Various succeeding monarchs added to the gifts of the founder, so that Holy-rood abbey was deemed the most opulent religious foundation in Scotland. Its annual revenues, at the period of the reformation, appear to have been as follows: 442 bolls of wheat; 640 bolls of bear (barley;) 560 bolls of oats; 500 capons; two dozen of hens; two dozen of salmon; twelve loads of salt; besides a number of swine, and about 250 pounds sterling, in money.

HOLY-ROOD HOUSE.

When Charles II. resolved to rebuild the Palace of Holy-rood, he ordered the abbey church to undergo a complete repair, and to be set apart as a chapel-royal. A throne was now erected for the Sovereign, and twelve stalls for the Knights of the order of the Thistle. An organ was likewise provided. But this latter circumstance, in conjunction with the fact of mass having been celebrated in the chapel during the reign of James VII. caused the barbarous populace, at the revolution, to despoil the building of every ornament. The bare walls were alone left standing. The unhallowed rioters even profaned the vault which had been used as the royal sepulchre. There, among other illustrious personages, lay James V. Magdalene of France, his Queen, and the unfortunate Earl of Darnley. The ruffians broke open the leaden coffins, and carried away the lids; but as the royal bones were not negotiable articles, these anti-papists were pleased to leave them behind.

In the middle of the last century, the roof of the church was pronounced to be in so ruinous a state, that the Duke of Hamilton, as heritable keeper of the Palace, represented its condition to the Barons of Exchequer; by whom an architect and mason were appointed to examine the alleged dilapidations.

The walls of the church had stood for 600 years, and were now in a very crazy state, yet the architect appointed by the Barons proposed to deposit on them a new roof composed of weighty flag-stones. The Barons relished the idea, and a covering of flag-stones was accordingly placed on the church. But, in a very few years, the building fell to the ground, in one mighty heap of ruin, as it appeared *that the walls had never been intended to sustain so vast a load!*

Strangers visiting the ruins are still shown some bones, which are said to be Lord Darnley's. If they are really so, he appears to have been above the ordinary stature.* In the belfry is a statue of Robert, Lord Belhaven, well executed in white marble, but which partakes of the state of dilapidation into which the building has fallen.

Many of the actions of those full-dressed characters of human life, who form the *dramatis personæ* of national history, are connected with the Palace of Holy-rood House. From the operation of various oppressive circumstances,

* The writers of Lord Darnley's era affirm that he was seven feet high.

HOLY-ROOD HOUSE.

the early annals of Scotland are known to be peculiarly imperfect. Little, therefore, of the familiar history of the sovereigns who preceded Mary is attainable to the most laborious investigator; to which must be attributed that paucity of intelligence to which the writer of the present article is subject.

It was in 1544 that the English entered Edinburgh, under the command of the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset and Protector. As they advanced towards the city they were met by the Provost and the principal inhabitants, who offered to deliver up the keys on the moderate conditions of being granted permission to remove their effects, and of receiving a promise that the city should not be subjected to conflagration. But the English general (influenced by the sanguinary spirit of Henry VIII.) rejected the propositions, and demanded from the citizens an unconditional surrender of their persons and estates. The Provost replied, "it were better the city should stand on its defence;" when he was haughtily commanded to retire. An assault now took place: an entrance was gained, and many of the inhabitants killed. The castle was next attacked, but the garrison retorted so vigorous and well-directed a fire, that the assailants were speedily compelled to desist from the attack of that fortification. The English then set the city on fire in so many places "that the smoke thereof obliged them to quit for awhile the scene of their devastation." For seven miles round Edinburgh the country was laid waste, and the palace constructed by James V. in the vicinity of Holy-rood Abbey, was nearly levelled with the ground.

The misfortunes of Queen Mary commenced at a very early period. On the Sunday after her arrival a mob beset Holy-rood Palace, for the purpose of instructing her majesty respecting the proper way of worshipping God. To such a pitch of insolence had the spirit of these religious instructors risen, that it was with difficulty they were restrained from hanging the priest who was then officiating in Holy-rood chapel.

It was natural for the queen to look with indignation on the insolent fanaticism of subjects who threatened to hang her priest, while they professed to be actuated by the genuine spirit of christianity; but, unhappily, she was equally as enthusiastic, and equally as bigoted. Locked in Holy-rood House, with her mass-book and father-confessor, she viewed all the reformed part of her subjects as persons hurrying to eternal condemnation; while the tumultu-

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ous mob of zealots who assailed the gates, pronounced themselves certain that her majesty was making the same dreadful progress, and must soon be utterly lost, unless she listened to John Knox, and abjured beads and images. This mutual pertinacity of opinion led the way to those events which deprived Mary of her crown.

In 1566, David Rizzio was murdered in Holy-rood House. The particulars of the assassination are so well known that it will neither be necessary nor consistent with our plan to enter into them. The room in which the queen and her secretary were sitting, and the stairs on which the murder was committed, are still shown to the visitor of Holyrood Palace.

In the year 1587, King James, unable to cope with the growing power of the ecclesiastics, while his nobles remained distracted by family feuds and personal animosities, effected a reconciliation between the leaders of the latter body, and celebrated the grateful circumstance by a splendid banquet at Holy-rood House. After which, the newly-reconciled noblemen walked hand-in-hand to the cross of Edinburgh, where they ate together, and each drank to the health of the other: thus giving, as it were, a public pledge of amity and good-fellowship.

King James appears to have lived in a state of unreserved intercourse with the chief persons of the realm. The following letter is connected with the Scottish Palace, and is a pleasing voucher for the simplicity and conviviality which prevailed in the court over which the writer presided:

From James VI. to the Laird of Balfour.

Right trusty Friend!

We greet you well. Having appointed the Baptism of our dearest daughter to be here at Haly-rood House, upon Sunday the 15th day of Aprile next, in such honourable manner as that action craved; we have therefore thought good, right, effectually to request and desire you to send us such offerings and presents against that day as is best then in season, and convenient for that action, as you regard our honour, and will merit our special thanks. So not doubting to find your greater willingness to pleasure us herein, since you are to be invited to take part of your own good cheer, we commit you to God. From Haly-rood House, this tenth day of February, 1598.

JAMES, R."

Edinburgh was once visited by King Charles I. while in the zenith of his power. His majesty was received by the lord-provost, magistrates, and town

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council, in their robes, attended by 260 armed youths, dressed in doublets of white satin, and black velvet breeches. The streets were hung with carpets and tapestry, and guarded by the trained bands. Pompous and expensive pageantry was exhibited in conspicuous places, and on the king reaching Holy-rood Palace, he was complimented with an adulatory address.

The Duke of York, afterwards James II. maintained a splendid court at Holy-rood Palace, where he resided as commissioner to the Scottish parliament, accompanied by his Duchess and the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen of England. It was then that dramatic pieces were performed in the tennis-hall of the Palace; but, according to the satirical verses of Dryden, the comedians were not very eminent for talent, and not very well stocked with those glittering articles which enable the heroes of the buskin to seem "every inch" kings and courtiers, while they strut their short hour upon the stage.

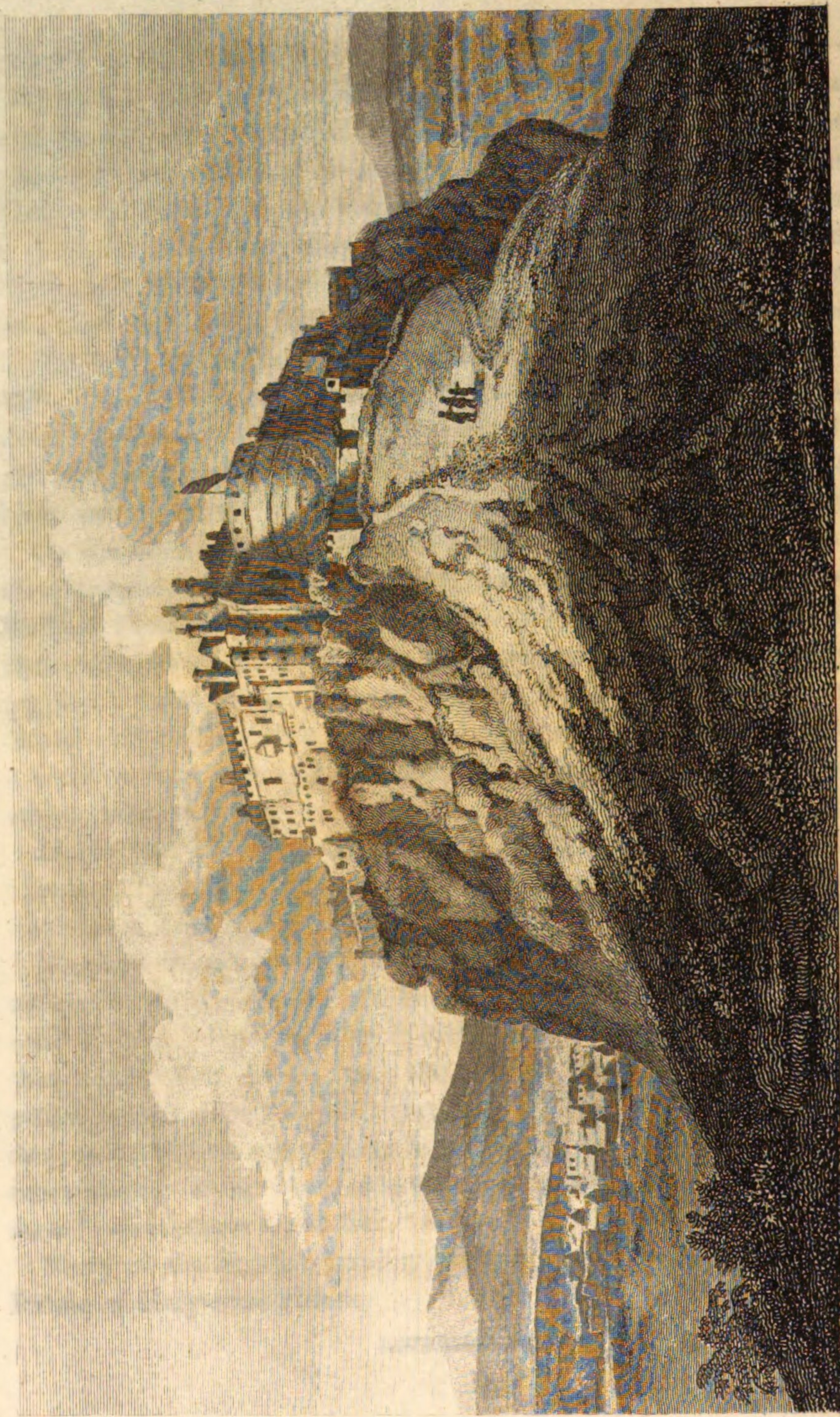
On the landing of the Prince of Orange, the populace of Edinburgh testified their patriotism and joy on the occasion, by breaking open the cellars of the Earl of Perth (a friend to the family and religion of James.) After which, those who were able marshalled in the streets, and with vociferations of "No popery!" attacked the chapel of Holy-rood House. A hundred soldiers stationed in the abbey fired on the mob, and compelled them to retire, but they speedily returned, and defeated the king's party: killing some and making the others prisoners.

In the year 1745, the chevalier St. George took possession of Holy-rood House. From this Palace, as from head-quarters, he issued divers proclamations, in which a liberal spirit of humanity is known to have been conspicuous.

The ambitious temper of the house of Bourbon suggested those measures which caused the chevalier St. George to become a temporary inmate of Holy-rood Palace. How far was it distant from the reflection of the princes of that enterprising house, that their own descendants would shortly be compelled to seek refuge in the same shell of British royalty? Yet such was the fact; and it will be recorded, to the honour of Great Britain, that she afforded a ready shelter to her once determined enemies, when misfortune had taught them "what others are to feel," and to "own themselves men."

Many of the Scottish nobility have, at present, occasional lodgings in the Palace of Holy-rood House.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE BOSTON BAR
VOL. I.
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY
J. B. ALLEN, 1856.



EDINBURGH CASTLE.

London. Published by W.H. Wyatt, Dec. 1. 1849.

Historical Description

EDINBURGH CASTLE.

"Once more, O North! I view thy winding shores,
Climb thy bleak hills, and cross thy dusky moors."

It has hitherto been our aim to select such articles for discussion as were calculated to produce *variety*, in regard to local description and historical allusion. In the present instance we depart from that mode of conduct, under the influence of the following consideration:—Edinburgh is conspicuous for *two* edifices, seated at the opposite extremities of the city, which equally solicit the notice of the traveller to whom works of architectural magnificence present objects of interesting speculation. Thus, it appeared that our volume could not be considered complete without an account of that Castle which unites with Holy-rood House in decorating the city of Edinburgh with the vestiges of ancient splendour.

Edinburgh Castle is seated on the western extremity of the hill on which the most ancient part of the city is built. This hill, or rock, is about 300 feet high,* and is of so precipitous a description, that the summit is accessible only from the eastern side. At some points the rock is nearly perpendicular.

* From its base; but it is elevated precisely 294 feet above the level of the sea.

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Though the High-street is generally said to unite the Castle and Holy-rood House, the former is, in fact, separated from the buildings of the city by a space of about 350 feet in length, and 300 in breadth. This space is denominated Castle-Hill-Walk.

It is evident that the Scots were sensible, at a very early period, of the political propriety of erecting strong holds of defence in every district of their possessions. Thus, Scotland was strong in fortified recesses, while England depended on her arms in the field; but the very Castles intended to defend the former from the encroachments of a foreign power, proved the cause of actual slavery to the great bulk of the people.

Where nature does much it is well known that art will do little. In no period do the Scots appear to have constructed their fortresses with much attention to the artificial modes of defence prevalent with the inhabitants of the lowlands. Like the mountaineers of Wales, they placed their great dependence on natural circumstances of security. Their castles were erected on the summits of hills, which were so lofty and precipitous, that open force was unable to hope for success in an assault;* or, perhaps, a rocky peninsula was chosen for the site of the fortress. Here the wild uproar of the Scottish waters defended the building from the arms of rival clans, while the dreary caverns of the sea-washed rock presented natural retreats for the garrison in times of extreme danger, and, likewise, cells for the reception of those who were miserable enough to become captives to the Lord of the domain. Of this latter description was the castle of *Freswick*, which occupied the top of a narrow rock that projected into the open ocean. Through the little isthmus which connected this rock with the main land, a deep chasm was effected, with much labour, over which was thrown a draw-bridge. All around were lofty cliffs and tempestuous waters.

Edinburgh Castle, on the contrary, depended for security on the elevation of its site; and seems to have been intended rather to strike awe into the refractory chieftains of the interior, than to present an obstacle to the boldness

* In some instances (as in that of Dunstaffnage) the rock which formed the site of the Castle was cut, or pared, to render it precipitous, and to make it agree with the shape of the building.

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of invaders. The Castle of Edinburgh was originally denominated *Castell Mynyd Agned*, that is, "the fortress of the Hill of Agnes;" and the hill itself was termed *Mynyd Agned Cathre-gonion*, which implies, in the language of the ancient Britons, "the Hill Agned, nigh the fortress." From which appellations it would appear that the Castle was founded after the introduction of christianity to Scotland. At a subsequent period, the fortress was called *Castrum Puellarum*, because, as some assert, the daughters of the Pictish chiefs received their education in the Castle. Some persons have wished to ascribe a very remote origin to Edinburgh Castle; but it is certain that a battle was fought on the site of the building by Arthur, King of the Britons, towards the close of the fifth century.

The ground-plot of the fortress occupies about six acres. At the western extremity is the outer barrier, which is formed of strong palisadoes. Beyond this are a dry ditch, a draw-bridge, and gate, defended by two flanking batteries. A half-moon, mounted with twelve eighteen and twenty-four pounders, commands the whole entrance. Close to the gate is a guard-room, for the sentinels of the standing guard, and likewise a reservoir, lately constructed for the purpose of serving the garrison with water;—a very necessary erection, as the Castle was formerly supplied from a draw-well, upwards of 100 feet deep. This water was not only very bad, but it was found that, in the event of a siege, the concussion produced by a continued discharge of artillery caused the water to subside. Beyond the guard-room, on a road winding upwards towards the north, are two gateways, the first of which is secured by two portcullisses. Immediately beyond the inner gateway, is a battery mounted with eighteen and twelve-pounders, near which are store-rooms calculated to receive gun-carriages, and other implements of artillery. On the north are a grand store-room and arsenal, which are extensive enough to contain 8,000 stand of arms. Other apartments are now dedicated to the same purpose, so that, on the whole, 30,000 stand of arms might be deposited in the Castle, with perfect order and convenience. The powder-magazine adjoins the arsenal, and this most essential part of the fortress is supposed to be bomb-proof. In the neighbourhood of the magazine are the fort-major's, the governor's, and the store-master's, houses. Beyond which are a mortar and some gun-batteries.

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The most elevated part of the building contains several half-moon batteries ; a chapel for the use of the garrison ; a parade for exercise ; and a considerable number of houses, which are designed in the form of a square, with a court in the centre.* On the eastern side of this square were formerly the royal apartments. The ancient tenements inhabited occasionally by many of the Scottish sovereigns have, long since, sunk to ruin and been removed. Several of the present houses within the Castle walls were rebuilt (as appears from an inscription on the front)) in the year 1556 ; others bear the date of 1616.

In the south-east quarter of the Castle, state-prisoners were formerly kept ; and here, in an apartment called the *crown-room*, it is by some pretended that the regalia of Scotland are still deposited. It is well known that they were lodged here, with much formality, on the 26th of March, 1707. But since that day, they have not been seen by any person who has communicated the result of his inspection to the public. Some years ago, Arnot entered his protest against the privacy with which they were preserved, if really retained in the Castle ; and observed “ that if, after his general surmise, so publicly thrown out, the officers of state and governor of Edinburgh Castle will not make personal inquiry whether the regalia of Scotland be still in the castle, the public will be entitled to conclude *that they are no longer there.*” The glittering treasure was not produced on this public appeal of Mr. Arnot ; and a recent writer informs us that, “ a few years back, several gentlemen visited the Castle, with a design to inspect the regalia ; but, for some reason or other, stopped short in their research.”

The meetings of parliament formerly took place in a house situated in the great square of the Castle, and the monarch possessed gardens which occupied a part of the marsh afterwards called the North Lock. The King's stables were on the southern side of the Castle ; and the place to the south-west, where the barns were established, is still known by the name of the Castle barns.

The Castle, long since deprived of those terrors which once rendered it so

* King Robert III. at the latter part of the fourteenth century, conferred on the whole burghesses of Edinburgh the privilege of erecting houses for themselves within the Castle walls, under no other restriction than that of their being persons of good fame.

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formidable a resource in cases of national exigency, is now chiefly used as a station for the soldiery of the United Kingdoms. Some additional barracks have lately been erected, which are capable of quartering 1,000 men. The ancient military architects involuntarily bestowed such features of sublimity on their works, as create a species of shuddering admiration in the bosom of the modern spectator. But gunpowder has nothing of the picturesque in its constitution. This fatal mixture depopulates empires, without leaving the traveller a single relic to sooth him in the moment of melancholy reflection.

We have observed, that the Scots chiefly relied for security on the mountainous situations which they chose for their places of defence. Thus, Edinburgh Castle was built without the least attention to the rules of military art, and the fortifications vary in conformance to the irregular character of the precipice on which they stand. Yet, the spectator would be tempted to imagine that a castle so situated must have been impregnable before the use of gunpowder in war. But, in our observations on the historical incidents connected with this building, we shall show that experience and speculation are at variance, and that the regal fortress has been compelled to bow her "cloud-capped" head, before the thunder of artillery was employed against her massive walls.

At present it is evident that the Castle could not withstand a siege conducted with the skill of modern assailants, since no part of the building, except the powder-magazine, is proof against a bombardment; and as the area of the Castle is chiefly composed of rock, the destruction produced by an enemy's bomb-shells would be greatly increased by the splinters which every explosion would cause to fly around.

Neither history, nor tradition, records any circumstance in which Edinburgh Castle is conspicuous, till the year 1093. On the authority of Fordun and Dalrymple, the following story concerning that period is related:—when *Malcolm Canmore* was slain in battle, his widow, Queen Margaret, took refuge in the Castle of Edinburgh, where she very shortly died. "Donald Bane, uncle to Malcolm's children, having usurped the throne, now besieged the Castle in which the orphan-heir to the crown resided. The usurper presuming, from the steepness of the rock, that Malcolm's children could escape only at the gates, ordered them alone to be guarded. But those in the garrison knowing this, conveyed the body of the queen through a postern-gate on the west side of the Castle

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to the church of Dunfermline, where it lies interred: and the children escaped to England, where they were protected and educated by their uncle, Edgar Atheling."

The year 1174 was not only calamitous to the Scottish people, but disgraceful to the character of their arms. The Scottish kings had, from a very early date, possessed several of the northern counties of England, for which, however, they performed homage to the English sovereign. A part of Northumberland being unjustly withheld by Henry II. from William I. of Scotland, known by the appellation of William the Lion, the Scots, headed by their king, entered the English territories. In the neighbourhood of Alnwick, the invaders were defeated, and their leader taken prisoner. Aware of the great advantage he possessed, Henry refused to enlarge the Scottish monarch, unless he would consent to surrender the principal places of strength in his dominions, and would promise to pay homage for his whole kingdom. William referred these proposals to the consideration of his subjects. The struggle must have been severe between patriotism on the one hand and loyalty on the other. But affection for a brave and suffering prince prevailed. "The Scots," observes a modern writer, "impatient at the captivity of the king, purchased his freedom by surrendering the independency of the nation. Many hostages, and some of the chief garrisons in Scotland, and among these *the Castle of Edinburgh*, were delivered as pledges for the performance of this treaty. But, upon William's marriage with Ermengarde, cousin to King Henry, Edinburgh Castle was *restored*, and *given in dower to the Queen*." In this instance the Castle presented one of the most singular marriage-gifts that a prince, in the excess of his liberality to a cousin, ever thought of bestowing!

When Alexander III. was betrothed to the daughter of Henry III. of England, Edinburgh Castle was named as the residence of the young queen. But the lady appears to have been highly dissatisfied with her situation. She is said to have complained "that she was confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, a sad and solitary place, without verdure: and that she was denied the society of her royal consort, who had by this time completed his fourteenth year!"

Upon the death of the Maid of Norway, grandchild to Alexander III. the dispute between Bruce and Baliol, each of whom demanded the crown,

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afforded Edward I. an opportunity of advancing his claim to a right of supremacy over Scotland. In the course of the wars consequent on this arbitrary assumption, the Castle was besieged and taken. It remained in possession of the English for twenty years, when it was recovered by the skill and bravery of *the Earl of Moray*. Influenced by a questionable policy, the Scottish monarch ordered the fortress to be immediately destroyed, lest it should again become serviceable to the English in the instance of a future irruption.

Edward III. while professing to contend for the interest of Edward Baliol, invaded Scotland, with a powerful army, aided by a considerable fleet. The shipping entered the Forth, and the crews plundered and burnt the towns on both sides of that river. The Scots had not recovered from the consternation produced by the successes of Edward I.; and instead of opposing the English in the field, with the usual desperation of men who fight for their homes and families on their own land, they retired with their goods and cattle to the recesses of the mountains. The progress of Edward, therefore, was attended with no opportunity of new glory to his arms, but every step of his forces produced fresh distresses for the timid foe. But, when the king returned to England, the Scots commenced a vigorous attack on the monarch who had been imposed on them by Edward. The English King soon returned with a numerous army, and encamped at Perth. A large body of foreigners, under the command of *Guy, Count of Namure*, now entered Scotland for the purpose of reinforcing Edward; but, as these foreign troops were pursuing their march, they were attacked, near Edinburgh, by *Lord Moray*, the governor, and a sanguinary contest took place. The foreigners were not only courageous but well-disciplined, and the Scots were nearly overpowered, when *William de Douglas* entered the field to their assistance, and turned the fortune of the day. The forces under the Count of Namure were unable to maintain their ground, but they retreated to Edinburgh in good order, though severely harassed by Douglas and the Earl of Moray. When the enemy reached the city, their ranks were broken, and a dreadful slaughter ensued.—Those who escaped fled for safety to the rock, on which lay spread the ruins of the Castle. The fugitives were now driven to extreme distress. They were destitute of lodging and provision, but still determined to act on the defensive, while the least hope of success remained. Accordingly, they killed

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all their horses, and formed a sort of rampart with the carcasses. But, on the next morning, convinced of the impossibility of permanent resistance, they surrendered, on the sole condition of not being put to the sword.

The conduct of the Earl of Moray was highly to the honor of his age and nation. He not only granted these desperate invaders their lives, but permitted the Count of Namure to carry with him his effects; and, to complete the chivalric generosity of the action, accompanied him to the borders, in person, to preserve him from the possibility of molestation while in the Scottish territories. It is with regret we state the conclusion of the tale:—after parting with the count, Lord Moray fell into an ambush laid by the English, and was carried prisoner to their camp!

Edward III. like the Scottish King Robert, considered the existence of a castle at Edinburgh to be favorable to the English interest during these turbulent periods, and he accordingly re-built the fortress, and placed within it a strong garrison. The result proves that his policy was erroneous, for the Scots shortly obtained possession of the Castle, and pointed their arrows against the invader from his own towers. The stratagem by which the Castle was recovered is thus described:—“Four gentlemen (among whom was the celebrated *William de Douglas*) drew the plan. One of them feigned himself to be an English merchant. He went to the governor of the Castle, and told him that he had got a cargo of wine, strong beer, and biscuit, *exquisitely spiced*, in his vessel just arrived in the Forth; which provisions he wished the governor would buy from him. He produced, as a specimen, a bottle of the wine and another of the beer. The governor relished the liquors; they agreed about the price, and this pretended merchant was to deliver the provisions next morning early, that he might not be intercepted by the Scots. He came, accordingly, at the time appointed, with a dozen armed men, disguised in the habit of sailors, and the gates were open for their reception. Upon entering the Castle, they contrived to overturn the carriage, upon which the provisions were supposed to be heaped, and instantly killed the porter and sentries. Upon the sound of a horn, (the appointed signal,) Douglas, with a band of armed men, sprung from their concealments in the neighbourhood, and rushed into the Castle; where, having joined their companions, the garrison, after a sharp conflict, were mostly put to the sword, and the fortress recovered by the Scots.”

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After the murder of James I. at Perth, the son and successor of that monarch, who inherited the crown at the age of seven years, was placed under the care of *Crichton*, the chancellor, while *Sir Thomas Livingstone* was appointed regent. But a quarrel occurring between the two great officers of state, James was detained, in splendid confinement, at Edinburgh Castle, by *Sir William Crichton*. But the queen-dowager, who favored the opposite party, resolved to rescue her son, and place him in the hands of the regent. In pursuit of this purpose, she paid a visit to the youthful sovereign, during which she affected to display great friendship towards the chancellor, and asserted an intention of never interfering in matters of state. *Crichton* was deceived by these assurances, and readily granted the queen permission to remove certain articles from the Castle, which would be wanted by her in the course of a pilgrimage to a church in East Lothian, which she was on the point of undertaking. These effects were conveyed from the Castle at an early hour of the morning, and among them, concealed in a trunk, was removed the young king, who was supposed to be asleep and secure in his chamber. A vessel was ready, and he, the same night, reached Stirling, where he was received with open arms by the triumphant queen and regent. But the fruit of the queen's ingenuity was soon wrested from her by the superior address of the chancellor. *Crichton* knew that the king hunted frequently in the woods near Stirling, and he watched an opportunity, during the absence of the regent, to conceal himself, and a determined band, in the deep shade of a wood through which it was likely the king would pass. James fell into the snare, and the chancellor, with many protestations of respect, and much real show of courtesy, conducted him to his former place of secluded residence.

The over-weening power and extreme insolence of the *Earl of Douglas* caused a reconciliation to take place, shortly after this event, between the chancellor and the regent, who were mutually apprehensive of the ill-consequences of a division in the state, while the ambitious Douglas was daily increasing in authority and turbulence. Convinced of the inefficacy of the executive power to inflict justice on the Earl, or to put a stop to his oppressive proceedings, the two new co-adjutors resolved on proving the sincerity of their alliance by the assassination of their rival; and, for this purpose, the chancellor decoyed him into the Castle. Lord Douglas was treated with so

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well-counterfeited respect that he felt assured of security, and consented to share a banquet with the king and the two great officers who ruled in the monarch's name. Here smiles and hilarity prevailed: the regent flattered the pride of Douglas, and the chancellor pressed his hand, with warm assurances of attachment. But, towards the conclusion of the entertainment, a *bull's head* was set before the unsuspecting guest. Douglas understood the fatal symbol, and sprang from the table; but he was instantly surrounded by armed men, who dragged him, in spite of the king's tears and supplications, to the outer court of the Castle, where he was murdered.*

The Scottish monarch, James III. was kept in a prison for many months in Edinburgh Castle, through the intrigues and audacity of his turbulent nobles. But the Duke of Albany, brother to the king, in concert with the citizens of Edinburgh, surprised the Castle, and liberated the abused sovereign, whose most offensive qualities appear to have sprung from too ardent a love of refinement for the age in which he lived.

On the accession of the *Earl of Murray* to the regency of Scotland, he was particularly anxious to gain possession of the Castle of Edinburgh, which he ultimately obtained for the sum of £5,000, and the *priory of Pittenweem*. But the regent did not long retain his purchase, for while the city hesitated between the party of the queen and that of the regent, and was in equal danger from both, *Sir William Kirkaldy*, the governor of the Castle, declared for the queen, and united with *Maitland* in those vigorous measures which caused so much perplexity to the administration of the Earl of Murray.

The Scottish lords, who favored the interest of Murray (or rather that of the king, for the protection of the youthful son of Mary was ostensibly the object for which they took arms) now applied for assistance to Elizabeth, and that princess was too well pleased with the view of thoroughly embroiling the affairs of the sister-kingdom, to deny their request. Accordingly, she dispatched a body of 1,000 foot, and 300 horse, under the command of *Sir William Drury*, which troops encamped, in conjunction with a Scottish force, at Leith. Kirkaldy was required to surrender, and a form of negotiation took place, but a circumstance speedily occurred which put an abrupt termination

* Arnot informs us, "that, in the year 1753, some workmen, digging for a foundation to a new storehouse within the Castle, found some golden handles and plates for a coffin, which are supposed to have belonged to the coffin in which the Earl of Douglas was interred."

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to the treaty. A large body of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, suspected of disaffection to the queen, had been commanded to leave the city, while the adverse parties were arranging the terms of a capitulation ; but, instead of obeying the order, they assembled in a hostile manner under a banner, on which was inscribed " for God and the King." By this decisive step one side was as much elated as the other was enraged, and each party prepared for war, which was carried on with the greatest cruelty ; till at length, wearied by the miseries of civil discord, a treaty was concluded between the leaders of the opposite factions ; but Kirkaldy refused to be comprehended in the agreement, actuated, as Robertson supposes, by a fallacious hope of receiving assistance from the French, by which means he might still be able " to deliver the queen from captivity ; or, at least, to balance the influence of France and England in such a manner as to rescue Scotland from the dishonorable dependance on the latter, under which it had fallen." When a reinforcement of the king's party arrived from England, and the governor was again summoned to surrender, he, in token of defiance, unfurled his family-ensign on the top of the garrison.

Five batteries were now erected against the Castle, and though the cannonade was unceasing, Kirkaldy defended the shattered ramparts, with inflexible obstinacy, for thirty-three days. At this period the fortifications were nearly destroyed, and the garrison destitute of water. The spirit of the governor was unbroken ; but his soldiers were not animated with the same strength of resolution, and they called loudly for a surrender. Thus circumstanced, the fire of the garrison ceased, and the Castle was resigned to the English. Together with the governor were taken prisoners, on this occasion, James Kirkaldy, his brother ; Lord Home ; Maitland ; Sir Robert Melvil ; a few citizens of Edinburgh ; and about 160 soldiers. While Kirkaldy and his associates, remained in the custody of the English general, they were treated with becoming liberality ; but Elizabeth, neglectful of the honor of her general (who had assured the governor of favorable treatment) gave them up to the disposal of Morton, the regent, by whose order Kirkaldy and his brother were hung at the cross of Edinburgh !

In the year 1639 the Castle was delivered, without a struggle, into the hands of the party which took arms against the king, under the command of General Lesly.

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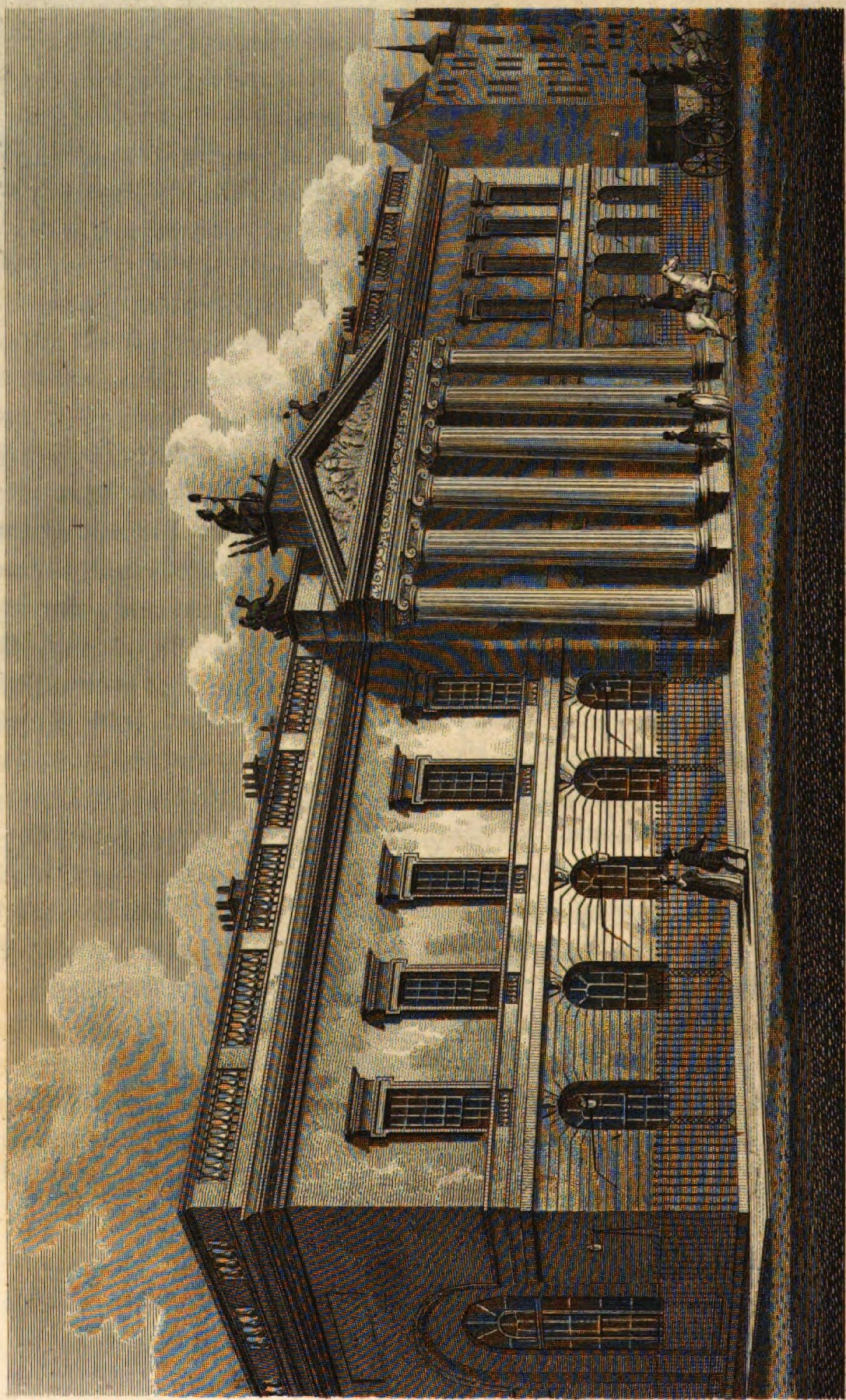
In 1650, Cromwell besieged and wrested the fortress of Edinburgh from those who were adverse to his individual interest.

In 1689, the Castle was held for the unpopular sovereign, King James, by the Duke of Gordon, its governor. But an assault taking place, the garrison (which was not sufficiently supplied with provisions) quickly surrendered.

In 1715, the party who favored the Pretender made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fortress by surprise.

During the residence of the chevalier St. George at Edinburgh, in the year 1745, the governor of the Castle, fearful that the garrison might be straitened for provisions, informed the Lord Provost that, unless a free communication was preserved between the city and Castle, he should be constrained to dislodge the highlanders at the weigh-house, by means of artillery. A deputation accordingly waited on the chevalier to explain to him the danger with which the city was threatened. He refused, however, to withdraw his guard, and on the sentinels firing at some people who were carrying provisions to the garrison, several great guns were discharged from the Castle, which damaged the houses, and wounded many of the inhabitants. A scene of great confusion now took place. A regular cannonade was commenced: houses were set on fire: and the citizens endeavored to remove their effects to places beyond the reach of the artillery. The firing was resumed on the next day, which induced the chevalier to issue a proclamation, in which he asserted, "that he thought it no disgrace to alter his resolution, when thereby innocent lives could be saved,"—and, therefore, he pronounced "the blockade of the Castle taken off." On the governor being informed of this proclamation, the firing was immediately stopped.

Such are the scenes of public enterprise and private machination most conspicuous in the history of Edinburgh Castle;—scenes which, like the once potent battlements with which they stand connected, are gloomy, deformed, and appalling, in themselves; although they acquire a powerful, and not unpleasing, interest from the mellow tints bestowed by the hand of time on their original rudeness.



T. Taylor. del.

J. Storer. sc.

INDIA HOUSE

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In 1650, Cromwell besieged and wrested the fortress of Edinburgh from those who were adverse to his individual interest. In 1689, the Castle was held for the unpopular sovereign, King James, by the Duke of Gordon, its governor. But an assault taking place, the garrison (which was not sufficiently supplied) quickly surrendered.

Description

OF THE

INDIA-HOUSE,

WITH

An Account of the Foundation and Progress of the East-India Company.

WITH the extension of the commerce appertaining to the great city of London, it would be flagrantly injudicious if the magnificence of the buildings, connected with mercantile pursuits, did not keep pace: and among the various buildings which reflect dignity on the commercial interest of England, the East-India House, and its vast appendages, hold a distinguished place.

Before the year 1726, the East-India Company rented, for the purpose of official business, an ancient house formerly the seat of the Craven family. This mansion appears to have been much more splendid and convenient, as a family-residence, than was common with the London inns of noblemen at the time it was built. "The rooms of the house now owned by Sir William Craven," says a contemporary of Sir William's, "are noble monuments of the taste of the last century. This house is so ancient, that I cannot discover when it was built;—it has often been repaired; but the divisions and ornaments of the present apartments are evidently those of the last century. The original dimensions of the rooms appear to have been double what they are at present."—But, however convenient might be the original arrangement, and however numerous the apartments, an antiquated family-mansion was found to be very inapplicable to the uses of a great commercial company. Accordingly, in the year 1726, a regular official building was erected on the site of Craven-House. But even this edifice was of too contracted a character for

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the business and dignity of so powerful an association. In the year 1799, therefore, a very considerable enlargement took place, in regard to the internal departments, and a new front was constructed under the direction of Mr. Richard Jupp.

The East-India House is situated on the south side of Leadenhall-street, and is entered through a portico consisting of six fluted columns of the Ionic order. A long passage leads from the vestibule to a court, surrounded by the chief offices connected with India concerns. In this court are triumphantly placed two of Tippoo's long tiger guns (the muzzles of which are moulded to represent the extended jaws of that destructive animal)—thus evincing, while surrounded by merchants, whose most potent arms are quills and account-books, the inevitable success of policy over mere ferocious strength. The court-room is on the right of the entrance, and is lighted by two rows of windows on the left-hand side. The chimney-piece is of white marble. Two caryatides of statuary marble, on veined pilasters, support the cornice. Above this is an emblematical design, in white marble, representing Britannia seated on a Globe under a rock by the sea-side, with a trident in her left-hand, and her right-arm on a shield bearing the Union Cross. Behind are two boys; one leaning on a cornucopia, the other playing with its contents. Before, are three female figures; the first, representing India, offers her a casket of jewels, from which a string of diamonds carelessly hangs down. Next her is Asia, holding an incense-pot in one hand and the bridle of a camel in the other. The third figure represents Africa, decorated with the spoils of an elephant, and one hand resting on the head of a lion. On the shore is a personification of the Thames, a rudder in the right-hand, and a cornucopia in the left. At the summit of the whole are the Company's arms, fancifully decorated.—The court-room, likewise, contains good paintings of Fort St. George, Bombay, Fort William, Tellicherry, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena.

In other apartments there are collected a considerable number of pictures, on subjects interesting to those engaged in Asiatic undertakings. Among these may be particularised an excellent portrait of Mr. Hastings, bequeathed to the Company by William Larkin, Esq.

In the upper department of the building, a room is fitted up as a library, in which is carefully forming a collection of books in all the oriental languages.

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It already contains specimens of manuscripts and printed works from Hindoostan, Persia, and China, and a set of materials for printing a book in the Chinese language. A museum of natural curiosities is also constructing.

The front of the India-House is not uniformly superb. The decorations of the main entrance comprise its chief pretensions to architectural magnificence.—The portico we have described as containing six fluted Ionic columns. These support a frieze, enriched with various antique ornaments, surmounted by a pediment, in the tympanum of which is a groupe of emblematical figures. The principal figure in this groupe represents his majesty leaning on his sword (which is in his left-hand) and extending the Shield of Protection, with his right-arm, over Britannia, who is embracing Liberty. On one side Mercury, attended by Navigation, introduces Asia to Britannia, at whose feet she pours out her rich productions. On the other side is Order, accompanied by Religion and Justice. Behind these appear the City Barge and other emblems of London, near which are Integrity and Industry. The western angle is filled by the Thames, and the eastern by the Ganges, indicative of their respective positions. On the apex of the pediment is a pedestal, on which is Britannia, holding in her left hand a spear with a cap of liberty on it. Above one extremity of the portico is Europe, seated on a horse; and above the other is Asia on a camel.

The front of the India-House has been a subject of satirical observation with every architect who has taken occasion to speak of it, and some of their objections are not to be controverted.—It is said to be too long and too heavy for the building of which it forms a part. One of the first rules in architecture, say these critical observers, ordains that the parts should not only bear a relation to the whole, but that every part should have a relation peculiarly its own:—the front of the India-House is objectionable in both points of this rule. Its ornaments and designs are likewise much too general. The figures are too thickly grouped, and the mob of deities is very ill-placed. The want of general allusions to the Asiatic possessions of the Company, censured in the design of the India-House, is, certainly, an error of no trivial consequence. There is nothing relative to the eastern world that presents itself to observation.

The warehouses belonging to the Company are extremely spacious, and situated in different streets bordering on the India-House. The extent of

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these may be estimated from the particulars of one range. The great repository of the teas is erected on the site of the old Navy-office, and is a regular oblong of about 250 feet by 160, inclosing a court of 150 by 60, which is entered by an arched gateway. The multitude of windows, and great number of persons employed, convey some idea of the prodigious concern in which the Company is engaged.

Many warehouses of equal consequence are already in use, and others are continually forming; each of which, by supplanting an assemblage of miserable tenements (the nidus of penury and vice) presents a pleasing picture of the good effects of successful commerce.*

The Egyptians and the Persians owed their early splendor to a traffic with India; Phœnicia was long considered the grand depôt of Eastern wealth. From its connection with India, Greece continued, through three centuries, to increase in wealth and elegance of national attainment.

The Romans, triumphant over every opponent at arms, contrived likewise to maintain an ascendancy in the tamer speculations of commerce. Their trade with India was chiefly carried on by the way of Egypt, and from that important branch of traffic was derived the many jewels, fine clothes, pearls, perfumes, and rich silks, with which the Roman empire formerly abounded. After the Norman conquest had enlarged the prospects and multiplied the resources of England, a ship of considerable burthen was sent annually from Venice to the port of Southampton, laden with the most desirable products of the east. When the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope threw the Indian trade into the hands of the Portuguese, Lisbon became the great mart for the productions of the East. The merchants of London now imported Indian goods from that city on their own account; and conveyed them to the Thames in their own ships.

The first Englishman that went to India by the Cape of Good Hope deserves.

* A stranger, on casting his eyes over the warehouses of a Company which has swallowed up so many houses, his ideas become so enlarged of the commerce that fills them, that he imagines he has almost exaggerated the bulk of the building: but when he reflects on the extensive territories of which, till within these few years, the Company were sovereigns;—of the revenues which they drew from their territories;—and of the powerful princes, and number of subjects that obeyed their authority, his astonishment will soon subside, and he must confess that he has much underrated the nature of the business.

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a grateful memorial in the annals of his country. This was a person of the name of Steevens, who had resided at Lisbon, in the capacity of factor, and whose notions had become laudably enlarged from the extensive dealings to which he had been a witness. In 1579 he made a voyage to Goa, in a Portuguese ship. On his return he published an account of his voyage, and this publication (now entirely lost) first stimulated the English to adventures in the East.*

In 1591 three vessels sailed from London, not only with a view of trading with the natives of Asia, but with an intention of cruizing against the Portuguese ships on their return to Europe. Their voyage, however, proved disastrous.—One ship only reached India, and that single relic of the squadron was so disabled by tempests, that the money intended for barter was necessarily expended in repairs. Still this adventure was useful, by explaining to the public the facility with which a trade might be established in Hindoostan. The effects of this conviction soon appeared with considerable importance. The merchants, aware that they possessed sufficient capital to attempt a competition with the Portuguese by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, presented (in 1594) a memorial to Queen Elizabeth, praying her majesty to make overtures to the Turkish government for entering into a treaty of commerce, whereby her subjects should obtain such privileges as would enable them to open a trade with the merchants of Syria and Egypt. The queen immediately dispatched letters to Constantinople, and the emperor readily acceded to the request. From this period, the commodities of India were brought to England in English ships, and this interchange with the Turkish empire continued to prevail for many years after the establishment of the East-India Company.

But the number of hands through which the goods passed, before they reached the consumer, caused the price to be so exorbitant that the English merchants were easily undersold by the Dutch (now possessed of considerable

* Extensive speculations in foreign trade were much promoted at this juncture, by the practice of insurance. Some assert that the Romans used this judicious plan of mutual preservation. It, certainly, was not known to modern Europe till the year 1560, when the first office for the purpose of insurance was erected in Lombard-street.

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strength in India) even at the London markets. The chief merchants of London, therefore, resolved to attempt a direct trade with the continent of Asia; and the celebrated George Earl of Cumberland, and a number of gentlemen of independent fortune, agreed to lend assistance, provided a charter could be obtained from government granting to those who engaged in the concern the exclusive privilege of carrying on the projected commerce.

On application to the throne, it appeared that the queen was not only agreeable to the proposal, but had actually anticipated the measure; to effectuate which, the English consul at Constantinople had directions to proceed over-land to Hindoostan, charged with letters from Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. This emperor, though highly accomplished and urbane, could not be persuaded to grant a freedom of traffic between the English and his subjects; but Elizabeth (whose overture was formal rather than apprehensive) had not waited the emperor's reply. On the 31st of December, 1600, about six months subsequent to the departure of the consul from Constantinople, she instituted the East-India Company by royal charter.

The charter was granted to George Earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants. They were constituted a body politic and corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure, under the title of the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies." The first governor and directors were nominated by the crown, but the charter specified that they should in future be chosen by the Company. The power of these representatives was to last only one year. The charter was extremely advantageous, but the grant of monopoly was limited to fifteen years.

The Company, thus liberally patronised, proceeded in 1601 to raise a sum of money in order to commence their trade. It is observable, that though their interests were condensed in a corporate association, the merchants did not raise the first necessary sum as a joint stock or capital. For some time, indeed, the partners appear to have traded with separate stocks, though only in ships belonging to the Company. The first shares were limited to £50 each, yet the money paid into the treasurer's hands shortly amounted to £72,000. This circumstance would appear to attest the great popularity of the scheme, but so obstinate is prejudice and so acrimonious is ignorance, that, in fact, a

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violent clamour was raised against the novel institution, and a number of books were written, which proved the Company to possess not the least solid prospect of success, perfectly to the satisfaction of the narrow-minded and the respective authors.

The first fleet equipped for the East-India trade consisted of one ship of 600 tons, one of 300, two of 200, and a victualling vessel of 180. The complement of seamen, in all these different ships, amounted to 480. The command of the little fleet was given to Captain Lancaster, a man of good natural talents, and who possessed some knowledge of the Indian seas. The cargo consisted chiefly of tin, lead, iron-cannon, muskets and cutlasses; and was in value £27,000; a small speculation, but all that was left for adventure after the equipment of the ships.

It may be necessary to observe, that when Hindoostan was first penetrated by English adventurers, the Mogul empire had gained an ascendancy over the greater part of the country. Some districts, however, denied its authority; of these the most powerful were the states of the Decan, then under the government of the sultans of Golconda, Bijapur, Calberga, and Telinga.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Emperor Akbar sat on the throne; by whom the empire was divided into fifteen subahs (or districts) each under the immediate jurisdiction of a viceroy. Akbar ruled with a much more absolute sway than the ancient Hindoo kings; for the powerful hierarchy placed in the ancient government, above the prince in the order of society, was by him degraded from its precedence in the political code. Under the original Hindoo government, the sovereign was the sole proprietor of the soil, and the land was apportioned in small allotments to the husbandman, through the agency of perpetual hereditary leases. Thus, the gross produce of the soil was the revenue of the prince, though immemorial custom restrained his demand to one sixth.—A more equitable mode of administration now prevailed. No tribute was exacted from the farmers, as had been too frequently the case, in addition to the gross sixth annually remitted to the king. Agriculture and manufactures were in a state comparatively flourishing, in consequence of the mildness introduced to the modern forms of government. Articles of merchandise were subject to few taxes, and yet the revenue of the monarch was £36,000,000 annually!

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An unlimited religious toleration prevailed, though, in all criminal matters, the entire supremacy of the Mohammedan jurisprudence was insisted on. The civil polity of Asia was admirably prudent and systematic. Each subah, or province, was governed by an officer termed a *Subahdah*, who was the immediate representative of the emperor. To advance the happiness of the people, was the first and most strenuous of this viceroy's instructions; and he was taught that the continuance of his power depended on his "obtaining a knowledge of the dispositions of men," and persevering in a rigid adherence to the principles of justice. Under the subahdar was an inferior officer, whose duty it was to see the orders of the subahdar put in execution by a long train of subordinate characters.

Two judges (the Cazy and Meer Adul) presided over the Mohammedan courts of civil and criminal law. In the former of these courts were adjusted all disputes between Mussulmans, or Mussulmans and Hindoos; but litigated points between the Hindoos themselves were discussed by two Pundits, who decided according to the ordinances of the ancient Hindoo code.

The police of each province was regulated with so much assiduity and skill that travellers might pass from one country to another, in the most dangerous seasons, without fear of molestation. A *cutwall* (or master of the police) took cognizance of each province. If any theft was committed, this officer was responsible for the loss sustained, unless he succeeded in apprehending the culprit. The province at large, however, participated in the penalty incurred by the *cutwall*, if it could be proved that any remissness occurred in regard to their search after the offender. The towns were divided into quarters; the police of each quarter was superintended by an officer, who transmitted to the *cutwall* a monthly journal of the most minute circumstances that transpired. Armed patrols ranged the country during night, and crushed the slightest tendency to disturbance in its origin. By these rigid precautions, the most profound security reigned through the whole extent of Akbar's empire.

The military establishment of Hindoostan was very extensive. The regular army was large, in addition to which, every district furnished a number of irregular troops, who were chiefly employed in the service of the officers of police. These latter forces are said to have amounted to upwards of 4,000,000 of men, and were composed almost entirely of Hindoos; the regular army

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(700,000 strong) consisted of Mussulmans. Each *munsab* (or regiment) possessed a small train of artillery, and in every province there was an artillery-establishment, which consisted of 100 pieces of iron-ordnance and 5000 men. Twelve thousand men, a body of chosen infantry, were appointed to guard the regal palaces and the emperor's person: yet, with respect to external commerce, they had no relish. Surrounding nations we have seen, from the earliest periods, soliciting an interchange with Asia: commodities either natural or artificial were not needed in the east: gold and silver therefore were employed in the trade, and thus Asia, for ages, became the grand depôt of all the valuable metals of the known world. This partial acquisition of wealth did not fail to awaken dormant feelings of avarice in the simple Hindoo's bosom; but the most powerful fortuitous hint proved insufficient to stimulate him to the fatigue of exportation.*

The internal trade of the country was carried on with magnitude and activity. The productions of one province were securely exchanged for those of another. The great influx of the precious metals invigorated this traffic, while it lent facility to mercantile operations. Goods were conveyed from one province to another in caravans drawn by oxen, and attended by an innumerable cavalcade.

The character of the Hindoo dealer appears to have been a fit model for merchants of every clime. According to the Abbé Raynal, bags of money, ticketed and sealed by the bankers, would circulate for years without being either counted or weighed. Those Indians devoted entirely to commerce were termed Banians. With these, a few moments were sufficient for the completion of the most important business. Their evenness of temper and politeness were proverbial. Their children, who assisted at all bargains, were trained to gentleness of manners. So early was their proficiency in mercantile knowledge, that it was usual to see a boy of ten or twelve years of age able to act as substitute for his father in a transaction of consequence. Such was

* One solitary exception occurs to this statement. The *cowries* (shells used as lower classes of money in Hindoostan) were procured from the Maldivé Islands by Indian vessels, which carried thither rice and coarse cottons as articles of barter. The Maldivé Islands, however, were not very distant, and these trivial adventures were the greatest, in a maritime way, ever undertaken by the Asiatics.

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the state of Hindoostan at the commencement of its connexion with this country.

The Portugueze and the Dutch were the first European inmates admitted by the natives. Before the voyage of the English, the Portugueze had a settlement (for purposes of commerce) on the western, and the Dutch on the eastern side of India.

It was to the eastern part of Asia that Lancaster was directed to conduct the British fleet. On the 15th of June, 1602, he arrived in the road of Acheen, and delivered to the king of that country a letter from the English queen, in which her majesty offered her friendship and alliance to the monarch, and expressed an earnest hope that he would not only allow her subjects to trade in his dominions, but agree to enter into a treaty of commerce with her majesty, the terms of which could not fail to perpetuate amity and confidence between both parties. This flattering letter was accompanied by several valuable presents.

The King of Acheen, whose innocence and integrity rendered him slow in conceiving the evils that it was probable would result to Asia from the different foreign powers to whom settlements were awarded, approved the terms of the treaty, and invited the English agent and other chief officers to share the hospitality of his palace. Here they were regaled with a sumptuous banquet (intended as a sincere earnest of the sovereign's good-will.) The service was of pure gold, and the most beautiful women of the country, richly attired, and ornamented with bracelets and jewels, enlivened the party by dancing and music.

When the preliminaries of an English colony at Acheen were completely arranged, Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, where he was received with the same open cordiality.

Thus the new company obtained a footing in India, and were enabled to lay the ground-work of their future conquests.

During the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, the infant trade with Asia was not attended with any very eminent success. The Portugueze and Dutch, from the priority of their connexion with the east, had made themselves masters of the most advantageous harbours, and had erected fortifications by the side of their warehouses. These nations naturally entertained great jealousy of the settlements attempted by the English, and did not fail to throw every

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possible impediment in the way of the new adventurers. Limited as were the resources of the Company during the first years of their existence, they felt themselves unable to cope successfully with rivals so potent.

In 1610, James I. infused new spirit into this great mercantile institution. By him, their charter was enlarged, and the advancement of their interests attentively cultivated. Animated by the royal favor, the Company sought a confirmation of their settlement in India with redoubled ardour. They increased the number of their expeditions, and augmented, to a surprising degree, the size of their ships. One of these was the largest vessel that had hitherto been built in England. She was of 1200 tons burthen,* and was launched in the presence of the King, the Prince of Wales, and a number of other eminent persons connected with the state. His majesty named this large ship the "Trade's Increase;" and a smaller, which was launched at the same time, the "Pepper Corn."

Whatever pain may be excited by a retrospective view of the unjust facility with which merchants moulded themselves into soldiers, and spread the horrors of military devastation over a country which had opened its friendly arms to the supposed blessings of a commercial alliance; it still must gratify, in the dearest point, every genuine patriot to find that nautical valour, guided by the enterprising disposition of two gallant marine commanders, first enabled the India Company to profit by the pacific wishes of the eastern powers.

To the long list of honorable names that adorn the naval annals of the country, the grateful remembrance of every Briton should add those of Middleton and Best, whose skill was able to surmount each destructive obstacle which their temerity appeared to invoke.

With the "Trade's Increase" and "Pepper-Corn," Sir Henry Middleton sailed from England, instructed to gain, if possible, a settlement on the coasts of Malabar and Guzerat. Passing the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of

* From a treatise published by Sir Dudley Diggs, in the year 1615, it is learned that the burthen of the ships employed by the Company that year was equal to the largest now in the service. He says, one of their ships was of 1293 tons burthen; one of 1100, one of 1060, and the rest smaller. The whole number they had employed from the beginning was twenty-four, of which four had been lost.

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Babelmandel, he proceeded to Mocho, where an unlucky affair, in which he was embroiled with the government, prevented all commercial speculation, and retarded the progress of his voyage.—A quarrel took place in the street, between some of Middleton's officers and the inhabitants, in which the English were sufferers, and Sir Henry exposed to imminent danger. Impelled by the indignation with which he reflected on the loss of several brave officers, Middleton charged the government with a deliberate intention to murder himself and his people, and threatened to raze the town to the ground, unless an ample atonement was immediately offered. This violence both alarmed and exasperated the Arabs. Apprehending that the whole power of the armament depended on the person of the chief, they immediately loaded Middleton with chains and threw him into a dungeon. A deputation from the government visited his forlorn and perilous cell, and threatened him with immediate torture and ultimate death if he refused to give orders for the surrender of his ships. With an unaltered countenance (or one that changed only from tranquil intrepidity to the expression of pride and disdain) Middleton, rising as well as the weight of his chains would permit, exclaimed, "My life is in your power: if your thirst for blood is not yet satiated, take it! But no torments (be you as ingenious in dispensing agony as you may) shall compel me to tarnish my own honour and disgrace my country."

It is the prerogative of magnanimity to awe the cruel. The Arabs had little motive to inflict punishments that were despised; and contented themselves with keeping Middleton in confinement, under the hope of his proposing a ransom for his deliverance. In this, however, they were disappointed. After an imprisonment that lasted six months he contrived to effect his escape. The ships, during his captivity, had kept hovering on the coast of Abyssinia. By great exertion he reached them, and resumed his command.

He now sent a message to the government of Mocho, intimating that if they did not immediately give him satisfaction for the injury experienced, he would sink all their ships in the harbour, and fire upon the town. This threat proved effective. The prisoners were released, and the Arabs presented Sir Henry with such a sum as he felt disposed to admit equivalent to the grievance sustained by the Company's service.

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Thus foiled in his projects concerning Arabia, he shaped his course for India; and, repassing the Straits of Babelmandel, entered the Gulf of Cambaya, in the province of Guzerat.*

Upon his arrival there, he was informed that a Portugueze fleet, consisting of six men-of-war and twelve galleys, was stationed at the bar of the river of Surat, for the express purpose of preventing any nation, except their own, from trading to that valuable mart. Middleton had but two circumstances to revolve:—He must either abandon the principal object of his voyage, by admitting the supremacy of the Portugueze arms in the east, or hazard an action with a fleet very greatly his superior. His resolution was soon taken, and he prepared for hostile measures against the Portugueze armament. At Sually (a place situated within a few leagues of Surat,) the English Company had established a factory. From that settlement Sir Henry obtained a reinforcement of six vessels, which had lately arrived from England. With his united squadron, he sailed fearlessly against the Portugueze fleet; and, when he came within sight of the enemy, crowded all possible sail, and approached the entrance of the river with such celerity, that he was enabled to close with the Portugueze before they had time to prepare for action. The advantage thus gained he followed up with equal ability and courage. Observing the confusion into which the quickness of his attack had thrown the enemy, and the considerable damage they had already sustained from the incessant fire of his ships, he determined on boarding those vessels which most obstinately supported the conflict. This plan succeeded; the Portugueze fought with desperate resolution, but eventually were compelled to surrender; and the fate of their comrades struck such terror into the rest, that they cut their cables and put to sea in the utmost trepidation.

The victor proceeded up the river in triumph; but though the glory of this conquest commanded the respect of the natives, the Jesuits possessed such power over the councils of the Mogul government, that it was found impossible for the English to supplant the Portugueze trading interest in that quarter.

Compelled thus to quit, for the present, Surat, with only the wreath of vic-

* Guzerat is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. The name is derived from the Persian, or Arabic word *Gezeret*, a peninsula.

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tory as a recompence for his exertions, Middleton determined to prosecute the war against his insidious foe ; and being informed that two Portuguese vessels, richly laden, were lying at Damaum, he proceeded thither, and captured them without difficulty. On his return to the Red Sea, he met with a valuable Arab fleet, of seventeen sail, bound to Mocho, on their return from India. This fleet Sir Henry seized, without hesitation, and detained until the inhabitants of Mocho paid him a considerable sum for its redemption.

Though Middleton has been censured for his conduct on this occasion, it must not be forgotten that the Arab government had seized, in times of profound peace, the commander of a fleet ; had thrown him into prison, and insisted on a ransom for his enlargement. That this forfeit was not received by them was not owing, in the least, to their lenity, but entirely to the adroitness with which the captive effected his escape. It appears that policy suggested the propriety of reprisal ; as nothing but a firm conviction of the necessity of mutual rectitude of conduct could be likely to preserve a lasting friendship between two quarters so remote and dissimilar as England and the east. It is not asserted that the Arab fleet was despoiled of any part of its valuable freight. It is certain that no act of severity was inflicted on its crews. It was held by the aggrieved Englishman, as a proof that his nation was not to be insulted with impunity, till just such a ransom was paid for it as had been demanded for his own person.

Shortly after teaching the Arabs this harsh but salutary lesson, Sir Henry Middleton proceeded to Bantam, where he died.

The restless jealousies of the Dutch and Portuguese still continued materially to obstruct the permanent arrangement of English colonies in Asia. It, therefore, was judged expedient to oppose to these industrious rivals, such a naval armament as would at least preserve an equality of power in the Indian seas. In order to meet the vast additional expense attending an alteration in the mode of equipping their ships, the Company formed (in 1612) their individual shares into one general capital, or joint stock, which amounted to £1,500,000.

In conformity with this design, the Directors, in 1613, fitted for sea an armament consisting of four ships, which mounted 30 guns each. Captain Thomas Best was appointed to the command—accompanied by persons

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skilled in political and commercial agency, who were instructed to accompany him, for the purpose of promoting an effectual negociation with the Mogul emperor. At this period the Portuguese priests were engaged in polemic arguments, when suddenly an action was announced between the English and Portuguese fleets.

The Portuguese viceroy at Goa, not confiding entirely in his jesuitical coadjutors, dispatched such an armament for the purpose of annoying the English as was supposed quite sufficiently powerful for their entire destruction. It consisted of four large galleons and twenty-six frigates, having on-board 5,000 men and 130 pieces of heavy ordnance. The English admiral (who possessed only the four ships of 30 guns each, which he had brought from England) weighed anchor the moment he descried the enemy, and heroically stood out to sea to give them battle. It was evening when the conflict commenced. After a partial action, the decision of the struggle was postponed till the ensuing day. The English appeared determined to conquer or fall. At day-break they recommenced, and the Portuguese received the attack without shrinking, and returned it with much courage, but with a conspicuous want of skill. Relying too confidently on the advantage they possessed in point of numbers, they surrounded the English ships for the purpose of boarding; but this manœuvre was so ill-performed that it occasioned the utmost confusion among their whole fleet. Captain Best did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and poured in his broadsides with fresh ardour and redoubled effect. The Portuguese found themselves incapable of withstanding the unabated impetuosity of the English; and their admiral, sensible of the inefficacy of further exertion, made sail and steered for Goa, in the greatest disorder. The English fleet had sustained so much damage that Best, who united prudence with courage in an eminent degree, thought pursuit too hazardous, and returned to Surat in triumph.

Most fortunately for the English interest, the engagement took place within sight of shore, where the natives were assembled in great numbers. Among the spectators was Seided Khan, an Omrah of high rank, who commanded the Mogul troops in the district of Surat. From the sympathy that naturally exists between men of real bravery, the Omrah became instantly the friend of the English captain. He invited him to his camp; caused the soldiers to treat him with those honors which it was customary to bestow only on the most

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distinguished military characters; and presented him with a great number of costly and warlike presents.

While Captain Best was employed in repairing his fleet, the Portuguese Government of Goa, enraged at the inglorious fate of their formidable armament, equipped, with all possible celerity, another of still greater force, convinced of the importance of attempting to retrieve their character for naval prowess.—Best was still at Surat when this second armament made its appearance. It was now that his diligence reaped its reward. No hurry or confusion was evinced at the sight of so formidable a foe. His ships were refitted, and he was prepared at every point.

With that daring confidence which his former success was calculated to inspire, he weighed anchor, and threw out the signal for action. The English pursued the same plan that had proved triumphant in the late action:—A desperate conflict ensued, in which, Best was, at length, successful. The carnage was immense, and the shattered remnants of the Portuguese fleet reached their harbour with difficulty, leaving the English flag possessed of undoubted supremacy in the Indian seas.

After visiting Acheen, Captain Best returned to England with a valuable cargo of spices. The Company conferred on him substantial marks of their approbation, while all ranks united in the applauses due to his distinguished gallantry.

It was clearly perceived by the East-India directors, that a combination of favorable circumstances rendered the present the most auspicious moment for a grand effort at establishing the authority of the Company in Asia, on a footing at once elevated and permanent. Acting on this conviction with talent and promptitude, they presented a memorial to the king, in which they earnestly intreated him to appoint a man of rank and abilities ambassador from the court of England to the Emperor of Hindoostan. His majesty entered completely into their views, and named Sir Thomas Roe as the head of the embassy, whom he entrusted with a special commission for concluding a treaty of commerce and amity between the two countries.

It was in 1614 that Sir Thomas Roe arrived at Surat. His retinue bespoke his official consequence, and Jehangeer, the Mogul emperor, sent an envoy to Surat to invite him to court.

Sir Thomas arrived at Ajmere, (the residence of the emperor,) in a happy

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season. Sumptuousness and splendour lavished decorations on every building; joy and hilarity enlightened every face;—the mild and honest natives were celebrating an annual festival, which was conducted with more than usual gaiety, on account of the tranquillity with which the empire was universally blessed! When he waited on the emperor, Sir Thomas presented a magnificent state-coach and other costly articles, and was received, not merely with the pomp and ceremony customary to Asiatic courts, but with an extraordinary degree of kindness and attention. The gallantry manifested by the fleets of England had made so vivid an impression on his mind, and the upright conduct of the early merchants afforded so flattering a specimen of English principles, that the Emperor of Hindoostan congratulated himself and his subjects on having, at length, found a European ally whom brave and undesigning men might venture to take by the hand with confidence.

After some delays, occasioned by the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, a treaty was concluded highly advantageous to the interests of this country. It was definitely agreed, that “the leave already given to the English to establish factories at various ports be confirmed to them by specific grants, and that their agents be allowed to reside at certain advantageous places. That all the subjects of the Mogul empire should receive those of England in any the most friendly manner; that the English merchants be protected landing of their goods, and, after paying the customs, be allowed to sell them at their own price, or transport them to any part of the empire, free from any additional duty; and that the property of any English subject should, in the instance of death, be delivered to the English factors by the officers of police.”

From Ajmere, Sir Thomas proceeded to Surat, and from thence to the court of Shah Abbas, King of Persia, at which place he succeeded in forming an alliance equally beneficial to his own nation.

Thus did the East-India Company attain the gratification of its most sanguine wishes. During the first years of the Company's existence, it appears that the greatest value of the exports, in any one year, did not exceed £36,000, while the saving of the nation, in the prices of pepper, cloves, mace and nutmegs, for home-consumption only, was annually £70,000; and the value of the same spices exported in the year 1614 amounted to £218,000, besides indigo, calicoes, China silks, drugs, &c.—Though, from the mention of China

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silks, a trade had evidently commenced, in an indirect way, with the Chinese; neither tea nor porcelain are mentioned among the commodities imported.

The first attempt towards a direct trade with China and Cochin-China was made in the year 1619, but it proved unsuccessful.

The want of paternal attention from the crown, joined to the incapacity of those who had the immediate conduct of the East-India concerns, materially injured the interests of the Company towards the latter periods of the reign of Charles I. In 1647, East-India shares were sold at 30 or 40 per cent. loss.

The distracted state of the country during the civil wars was so inimical to all public spirit and private adventure, that the Company, at length, appeared unable to support the prerogatives of its charter; and Cromwell, in the early part of his protectorate, threw the trade entirely open. This project proved inefficacious, and those who had speculated in voyages on their own account were among the first to solicit a renewal of the Company's chartered rights. Accordingly, a re-establishment took place in 1657. The joint stock amounted to £739,782. Only 50 per cent. was called for; their real capital, therefore, amounted to no more than half of that sum.

Charles II. granted a new charter to the Company, under the former name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies." By the rules of this charter, the governor, deputy-governor, and directors, were to be chosen annually. The Company, likewise, "had not, as at present, one transferable joint-stock, but every person who was free of the Company paid a certain sum on the fitting out of their voyages, for which he had credit in the Company's books, and his proportionable dividend on the profits of each respective voyage." The corporation, according to its construction at that time, was liable to dissolution at three years' notice.

Several disputes had arisen concerning the legality of the Company's monopoly during the reign of Charles II. In 1684, it became the subject of inquiry in a court of justice. The Company brought an action against an individual for equipping a ship for India, without having obtained their especial licence. The defendant's endeavour to prove the illegality of the Company's monopoly according to the tenor of Magna Charta and subsequent statutes, was supported by the Lord-chief-justice Pollexfen, but the king issued a prohibition against the sailing of the ship.

In 1692, the House of Commons addressed King William, praying that he

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would dissolve the Company at the end of three years, according to the power reserved to the crown by the provisions of their charter. This petition, however, was so contrary to the views of King William, that in the course of the ensuing two years he granted them three additional charters.

The presumed venality of the ministers, who had prevailed on his majesty to grant these new privileges, became the subject of inquiry in the House of Commons in 1694; when it appeared that, in the course of the preceding year alone, upwards of £80,000 had been expended by the directors in secret service-money; when the governor and some others were committed to the Tower, and the House impeached the Duke of Leeds, president of the council. A prorogation of parliament put an end to the proceedings.

The popular dislike entertained against the Company, which acquired fresh strength from the inability of the directors to make any dividends through several successive years, produced, at length, so serious an interference of the House of Commons, that it was thought expedient to propose advancing, as a legal investment, £700,000 for the public service, at four per cent.

But the influence of the directors, in regard to the ministry, was defective. A number of merchants offered to advance the sum of £2,000,000, at eight per cent., on condition that the trade was perverted from its original channel, and exclusively granted to themselves, with a proviso, however, that the subscribers should not be obliged to trade on a joint stock, unless they afterwards desired to be incorporated. The highest bidders were accepted; and the old Company were prohibited from trading after Michaelmas, 1701.

Many difficulties necessarily occurred. The old Company were in possession of the forts, the privileges granted in India by the Moguls, &c., and it was evident that they were at liberty to dispose of these at their own price, and even to foreigners, if such were their inclination. This, and other important considerations, induced a junction of interests in the year 1702, by an indenture tripartite, to which Queen Anne was the third party. The trade was to be carried on by each Company separately for seven years, after which all traffic was to proceed on the joint account.

This arrangement received the sanction of parliament in 1708. At the same time an act was passed by which the monopoly of the united Company was permitted to last, without the necessity of renewal, for the term of fifteen

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years. By the same act the capital of the Company was augmented to £3,200,000.

In consequence of the union of the two Companies, the following regulations took place:—

For every hundred pounds old stock there was given one hundred pounds eight shillings and ten-pence of the united Company's stock.

A call of twenty-five and a half per cent. was made on the proprietors of the old Company's, for enabling them to be joined to the united one.

The remaining effects of the old Company, and the debts owing to them, were vested in trustees for the payment of the outstanding debts: and, afterwards, for the benefit of the proprietors of the old Company, who were so at the time of the union.

Since the junction took place, the Company's charter has been repeatedly renewed. Their territorial possessions and the consequent necessity of military assistance, have experienced such a rapid augmentation, that, since the year 1784, the civil and military government of India has been subject to the superintendence of a board of controul, consisting of the secretary-of-state, the chancellor of the exchequer, and seven other privy-councillors nominated by his majesty. The commercial affairs are managed by a court of twenty-four directors, chosen for four years, six of whom are changed annually. From these directors are selected committees, under whose cognizance is transacted each peculiar branch of the Company's extensive business.

The shipping employed in the commerce between England and India belong to persons who build them for the purpose of freighting in the Company's service. A bye-law prevents any person who is a director from being, either directly or indirectly, concerned in the property of a vessel employed in the East-India trade. The number of tons mentioned in the charter, beyond the bounds of which the Company is not to speculate, is 80,000. The national revenue derived from India by Great Britain, is said, on the whole, to exceed £8,000,000 sterling.



J Taylor del.

THE ESCURIAL

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J. A. Slater Sc.

Descriptive and Historical Account

OF THE

ESCURIAL.*

FEW buildings have attracted more general curiosity than the Escorial; and were we to credit the assertions of various travellers and writers, this building may justly be considered the greatest phenomenon in architecture.

The history of Spain, in regard to arts and sciences, may be divided into three distinct classes, arising from the circumstance of different nations (each eminent in the walks of art) maintaining alternate supremacy in that country.

The seven earlier centuries of the christian epoch form one period; during which the Spaniards were first tributary to the Romans and afterwards to the Goths. In the year 712, the Saracens and Moors entered Spain, in great numbers, and eventually subjected the greater part of the country. Their sway, amidst various distracting circumstances of intestine contention, though abridged at various periods, was not totally eradicated till Ferdinand V. in the fifteenth century, completely conquered Granada, and expelled the Moorish King, Abdalla. From that day a new period in the history of Spain commences: but our limits are so circumscribed, that we cannot give even an analysis of the genius exhibited by each respective power; we shall, therefore, immediately proceed with a descriptive account of the Escorial.

* This, and other buildings mentioned in the course of the present article, are described precisely as they appeared before those convulsions which have so fatally disorganised a great part of Spain.

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The pile of building so termed is situated in $40^{\circ} 34'$ latitude, and is six leagues and a half (thirty miles) distant from Madrid. It is seated on an acclivity, which forms part of the chain of mountains that extend to Segovia, where, taking a direction north-west, they unite with the Pyreneans, and assist in separating the territories of France and Spain. In the vicinity of the Escorial, these prodigious elevations are chiefly devoid of all alleviating circumstances of wood or verdure, though some few are crowned by forests of pine, or softened by long ranges of firs. This situation for a royal palace, raised with so much perseverance, and at a prodigious expense, would appear unquestionably to be ill-chosen; and in many respects it certainly is so. A back ground containing such ponderous natural phenomena as the frowning army of mountains that look down on the Escorial, must necessarily diminish the seeming consequence of the noblest work of art; while the absence of intermingled wood and water, of gentle slope and fertile valley, cannot be denied to tend, in a painful degree, to the communication of the most gloomy ideas. The Spaniards of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had little or no relish for the picturesque in nature. This may be readily supposed far from implying a native dulness of perception, or rudeness of feeling, when we recollect that the gloomy spirit of their ecclesiastics virtually forbade any poetical elegance of rural description, by declining to license the more vivid lettered excursions of fancy; and those glowing studies of nature, which transplant the charms of the towering mount or smiling vale to the canvas of the painter, can never be looked for in a country where the fanaticism of devotees bestows encouragement chiefly on the artists who labour to illumine the creed of national superstition.—Where poetry and painting are mute, that feeling which suggests an enthusiastic admiration of natural beauties will generally lie dormant also. In consequence, very few of the Spanish noblesse maintained, in those periods, any mansion in the country; and when the chateau was assumed as an ornamental appendage to affluence and rank, it was usually placed amid the uninteresting tameness of the provincial town.—Custom, therefore, might operate materially with the founder, in regard to the cheerless situation of his palace; but it is highly probable that convenience might do more. The Escorial is composed of that species of stone termed *beroquena*, which resembles a kind of granite. It is of a grey colour, and though not so

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hard as granite, is calculated to resist all severities of weather, without loss of colour. This stone the neighbouring quarries produced in surprising abundance; and when the magnitude of the building is explained, and the immense sums its elevation required are stated, it would appear that neither the treasure nor life of one prince would have been sufficient to mature such an edifice in a country like Spain, where the difficulties of conveyance are inconceivably important, if the site had been placed far distant from the quarry intended to compose the structure.

This building was designed, and nearly completed, by King Philip II. It owes its construction chiefly to superstitious fear. It will be recollected, that in the war which Philip ventured to wage against the Pope, at the very commencement of his reign, the holy Father found an ally in the King of France. The result of various contests placed the respective parties at issue before the walls of St. Quintin. That town (the key, in the sixteenth century, to the territories of the Gallic monarch) was invested by the Spaniards and English conjointly, under the command of Philibert, Duke of Savoy. St. Quintin was on the point of falling a prey to the united valour of its besiegers, when timely succour from the side of France suspended its fate, and produced the horrors of bloody conflict before its walls. On the day consecrated by the Roman calendar to the memory of St. Laurence, the armies of France and the allies, the one headed by Montmorency, the other by the Duke of Savoy, met in the field and struggled for the palm of victory with heroic ardour. Fortune seconded the valour of the allied powers; and when Philip, who waited the issue of the contest, at Cambray, was informed of the signal success of the Spanish arms, he fell on his knees, and *made a vow** to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honor of the saint and martyr on *whose day* the battle had been won.

* When the Duke of Braganza (in the time of Philip) was introduced to the Escorial, and told that it was built in consequence of a vow, he pointedly observed, "that he who made so great a vow must needs have had a violent terror on him!"—But the bigotry of the king rendered him at all times extremely fond of these religious vows. On escaping from imminent danger at sea, on his return from Zealand, he solemnly dedicated his reign to the defence of the Roman Catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy.—The rigid punctuality with which he fulfilled his holy engagement was cause of lamentation to many of his subjects.

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The *name* of the building that dates its origin from so mistaken a notion of piety, has afforded subject for a controversy equally perplexing and unimportant. One writer maintains that the term Escorial is derived from an Arabic word, signifying a place full of rocks; and he very justly supports his opinion by local analogy. . . the character of the whole country surrounding the palace being of a rocky description.—Another observes, that Escoria (from the Latin *Scoria*) is the term, in the Spanish language, for metallic dross; and that Escorial is the topographic derivative signifying the place of reception for this dross.—And this second opinionist is equally supported by local circumstance, for there certainly are abundance of ferruginous ores in the neighbouring mountains.—Where the arguments are so equal, and the result of so little consequence, we rest contented with merely observing, that the village called *El Escorial*, directly adjacent to Philip's palace, was in existence before that edifice raised its towers, and thence, undoubtedly, is the name of the structure *immediately* derived.

The whole building consists of a palace, a church, a convent, and a burial-place. It was begun in the year 1563, and was not completed till the expiration of twenty-two years. The expense to Philip II. is said to have been six millions of gold, though many additions have been made since the time of the founder. The principal architect was John Bat Monegro, of Toledo, a disciple of Berrugete, and one of the architects concerned in the church of St. Peter, at Rome. He had for an assistant his former pupil, John de Herrera. Some subsequent improvements were made under the direction of Antonio de Villacestro.

There can be no circumstance more mortifying to an architect of vivid imagination and excursive powers, than such a prescriptive outline, from the taste of his employer, as forbids the bolder creations of professional enthusiasm, and deprives the artist of one great stimulus to exertion. . . the suggestions of a laudable vanity. Under this very serious inconvenience Monegro appears to have laboured.—St. Laurence, the tutelary Saint of the Escorial, is said to have been broiled alive on a gridiron, in the third century. Philip, in all the zeal of fanciful gratitude and most decided bigotry, determined to copy the probable shape of the gridiron on which good St. Laurence was so inhumanly martyred, in the ponderous edifice necessary to the fulfilment of his vow.—

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A vagary so strange perplexed the architect to the extreme; but remonstrance was out of the question. He took a gridiron for his model; and thus (*mirabile dictu!*) the most stupendous palace in the known world is positively built in the precise form of one of the meanest articles in culinary use! Constrained to uniformity by this absurd restriction, Monegro formed various courts from the *bars*; and in compliment to regal splendour, he placed the king's apartments in the *handle*. Determined, if possible, to wear his sovereign's fancy thread-bear, the artist proceeded on the broiling system, even beyond the necessity of obedience, and introduced sculptured gridirons, painted gridirons, iron gridirons, marble gridirons, wooden gridirons, and stucco gridirons. He placed gridirons over the doors, gridirons in the yards, gridirons in the windows, and gridirons in the galleries. Never was instrument of martyrdom so multiplied, so celebrated, so highly honored!—And, notwithstanding this circumstance, if the idea of so insignificant a model can be kept from the fancy of the beholder, no spectacle of art can be more strikingly superb to the first glances of approach than the Escorial. By some it has been said, in this instance, to assume the aspect of an immense quarry of stone, thrown into those fantastic shapes which only nature can form, and the complexion of which is varied with a thousand tints of brilliancy and beauty.*

The chief front of the palace has thirty-seven windows in breadth; and measures, from end to end, exactly 657 feet. It is turned towards the mountains, which are only at the distance of 100 paces, and, consequently, it is dark there half-an-hour before it is so at the back front, which commands a fine prospect that reaches quite to Madrid. The sides are 494 feet in depth. There is a square tower at each end of the four corners, nearly 200 feet in height. There are about 4,000 windows, and 8,000 doors in this building;—1,110 of these windows are on the outside of the four fronts.

The chief front contains three doors. Over the principal entrance are the arms of Spain, carved upon thunder-stone, brought for this occasion from Arabia; the carving of which is affirmed to have cost 60,000 crowns. In a niche, a little higher up, guarded by marble columns, stands the statue of

* The stone is, in fact, unusually fine. Its surface has a polish that would appear the result of laborious art, and veins of blue and brown undulate over it in every direction.

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St. Laurence, in a deacon's habit, a gilt gridiron in his right-hand, and a book in his left. This statue, which is fifteen feet in height, was executed by John Bat Monegro,* and is of the *beroquena* stone, except the head, feet, and hands, which are of marble.

Directly over the door are two enormous gridirons, in stone basso relievo.

Through this door is entered a large court, at the bottom of which is the church, which has five doors. Over them are placed six statues, each of seventeen feet in height. They were made by Monegro, and like the figure of the patron Saint, are of stone, but with heads, hands, and feet of marble. They represent six kings of Judah, their crowns and other insignia are of bronze, gilt.

The church is built with a cupola, eminently bold and light, after the model of St. Peter's at Rome; and on each side is a tower with chimes. It is to be lamented that the choir is so obviously ill-placed as to render the internal effect of the church extremely obscure.—Here are 216 choral books, in folio, written on parchment, with exceedingly fine miniatures. But the circumstance that chiefly conduces to render the church an object of curiosity, is the crucifix placed over the altar. This is well known to be the finest crucifix extant, and is the production of the celebrated Benvenuto Cellini, "whose life is certainly a phenomenon in biography; as to the man himself, there is not, perhaps, a more singular character among the race of Adam."†—The body is of white, and the cross of black marble.—Cellini, in his book on sculpture, printed at Florence, in 1568, says, "Though I have many statues of marble, yet I shall only mention one, it being one of the most difficult parts of the art to represent dead bodies:—this is the image of Christ crucified; in carving of which I took great pains, working with all the attention and care which such a subject requires; and I knew that I was the first who had ever carved a crucifix in marble. I finished it in a manner that gave great satisfaction to those who saw it. I placed the body of Christ on a cross of black *Carrara* marble, which is a stone so extremely hard that it is difficult to cut it."

* Architecture, sculpture, and painting, were frequently, at this period, united in the same person.

† Miscell. by Johnson and others, vol. iii. page 297.

Cellini presented this, the masterpiece of his art, to the Duke of Florence. By the grand Duke, *Cosimo*, it was sent as a present to Philip II. It was landed at Barcelona, and was carried from thence to the place it now occupies, on men's shoulders. At the foot of the cross is inscribed, "*Benvenutus zelinus cives florentinus, faciebat, 1562.*"—It is fortunate that Cellini was not living to see the priests of the eighteenth century tie, by way of ornament, a gold laced petticoat of purple velvet round the waist of the statue, the skirts of which were made to descend below the knees!

Near to this altar, in a niche, is a marble statue of St. Laurence, in a deacon's habit, as large as life, with a gilt bronze gridiron in one hand, and a palm-branch in the other. It was found in the ruins of Rome, and sent to Philip II. by his ambassador then residing there. This statue is in the ancient taste, and of good workmanship.

The church contains forty-eight altars, in forty chapels, the costly magnificence of which almost defies description. The ornaments are chiefly embroidered with pearls and precious stones; the candlesticks and lamps are of pure gold. The *pyx* (or box in which the host is kept) is made of a single agate.—The great altar is decorated with fifteen bronze statues, to which is an ascent by seventeen red jasper steps. On one side is the monument of Charles V. whose effigies, together with those of his empress, daughter, and two sisters, are represented kneeling, as large as life, in gilt bronze. On the other side is the monument of Philip II. who, together with two of his queens, is represented in like manner. All these are by Pompey Leoni.

Here are eight organs (one of which is of silver) which are all performed together on solemn festivals. The chairs, or seats in the choir, are made of fine wood from the Indies.

The tabernacle on the great altar is of porphyry, gold, and jewels. It is sixteen feet in height. This glittering fabric may be seen, but not touched, by laymen.

Immediately under the altar is the Pantheon, designed as a repository for the remains of the Spanish sovereigns. The descent to the last resort of greatness is by fifty-eight steps, chiefly of jasper. The building is circular, and was constructed, in 1654, according to the design of John Bat Cresenzio. It is thirty-six feet in diameter, and thirty-eight feet in height, and is entirely

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composed of the most valuable marbles, highly polished, intermixed with ornaments of gilt bronze. Round the wall are eight double columns, of the Corinthian order, with their bases and capitals of bronze gilt. Between these are disposed twenty-four urns, or sepulchral chests of marble, of seven feet in length, in as many niches, four over each other. Two more urns are placed over the door which fronts the great altar. These chests are supported by four lions' paws, of gilt bronze; and are farther adorned with the same metal. On each of them is a shield containing the name of the king, or queen, whose body is contained within.—The bodies of the royal children, and of those queens who left no issue, are buried in a chapel near the Pantheon.

Over the altar is a crucifix, by some attributed to Julian Fineli, of Carrara, a disciple of Algardi, and by others to Pedro Taca. The body is of gilt bronze, the size of life; the cross of black marble, and the back ground of porphyry. The cupola of the Pantheon is of marble, with foliages of gilt bronze. From the middle is suspended a curious lustre of bronze gilt, of seven feet and a-half in height, made in Genoa. There are eight other branches for lamps held by bronze-angels, articles far from superfluous as the day-light only appears through a single window.

The arms of Spain are represented over the door, in a kind of mosaic composed of different coloured marbles, gold, silver, and *lapis lazuli*.

In the sacristy is kept a pectoral cross, worn about the neck of the prior on solemn days. It consists of five diamonds, eight emeralds, four rubies, and five pearls; of which the largest is of the size of a pigeon's egg.

In the small chapel, *de la santa forma*, is a very fine *custodia d'ostia*, of silver *filagrana*, which was made in China, and presented to Charles II. by the Emperor Leopold.

The library consists of two rooms, and contains about 21,000 volumes. About 4,300 of these are in manuscript, of which 577 are Greek, 76 Hebrew, and 1800 Arabic.*

The largest room is 194 feet long. Five marble tables are placed in it. On one of them stands an equestrian statue of Philip II. four feet in height,

* According to *Hottinger's* catalogue, there were in the Escorial near 3,000 Arabic manuscripts, before the fire of 1661, which consumed a part of the library.—

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with a slave at each of the four corners of the pedestal : the whole is of silver. Silver statues likewise decorate the other tables. A loadstone extracted from one of the neighbouring mountains is preserved in this apartment. If properly mounted, this magnet might be made to suspend an iron weight of 750 pounds.

In a small room called *El camerino* is a portable golden altar, which was made use of by Charles V. The cross is ornamented with a topaz, as large as a hen's egg, and with a diamond and ruby, each the size of a common bean.

Two sides of the Escorial are embellished with gardens, in which are numerous fountains. The park and gardens are about a league in circumference.

The collection of pictures in the Escorial is almost unrivalled, both in regard to number and excellence.—There are upwards of 1600 in oil colours, exclusive of the paintings in fresco, in which manner ten ceilings are painted by Luca Giordano. The galleries of the library were rendered invaluable by the pencil of Titian, which Philip employed in the ornamenting of their panels. There was, indeed, scarcely an artist of taste or celebrity, that was overlooked by the founder of this rare monument of the arts ; and the munificence of the encouragement bestowed on talent, invariably attracted men of genius to the court of the Spanish monarch. In 1671 this superb and elegant edifice was fired by lightning, and very narrowly escaped entire destruction. Four towers fell victims to the conflagration, and a great part of the library was destroyed.—The building was restored by Charles II.

The Escorial has, for some time, ceased to be a royal residence. Philip, indeed, does not appear to have designed his building for a mere pleasurable retreat. The apartments arranged for the peculiar occupation of the monarch are most decidedly the plainest portion of the whole edifice. Seclusion was the taste of the Spanish sovereigns of the sixteenth century. Charles sought a selfish and inglorious retirement in the monastery of St. Justins : Philip planned an embellished cell in his palace of the Escorial, whither he attracted the brightest graces of the more elegant arts to ameliorate the solemnity of meditation.

With the periodical visits of the sovereign, the customary resort of men of genius has also disappeared ; and the Escorial, for many years back, has been chiefly tenanted by the brotherhood of a religious order. St. Jerome is

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the second patron of this place, and the monks (to the number of 200) are Jeronimites.*

The particulars we have detailed cannot possibly fail to communicate high esteem for the liberality and taste with which the interior of the Escorial is decorated. In an architectural point of view, prejudice only can deny that the building is liable to objections. That peculiarity of form prescribed by the caprice of the founder, must be admitted to have fettered the imagination of the architect. Bold and highly cultivated as was the fancy of Monegro, we have every reason to suppose that he would have produced a design far from unworthy of the superb scale on which he was allowed to act, had not such a system been imperiously delineated as compelled the dullness of uniformity and precluded the possibility of striking *architectural* effect.

Restrained as were Monegro's powers, he has never glaringly violated the rules of taste. The proportions are just, the combinations are chaste. From the slight retrospective view we have taken of the state of architecture in the kingdom, when Monegro commenced his task, it is evident that he could borrow few hints for classical correctness from the buildings of his predecessors.—Tumultuary and immethodical grandeur was the only aim of Moriscan builders. The Spanish artists, who succeeded the era of Moorish predominancy, were chiefly employed in arranging niches for statues, and disposing marble fountains through formal, though luxurious, gardens.—Monegro, despising the one as inartificial, and the other as puerile, raised an edifice where the utmost refinement of art can discover little to condemn, though it may readily point the attention to circumstances which might have been carried to a higher pitch of scientific effect.

As the orders of architecture more peculiarly adapted to the solemnity of a votive building, the Doric and Ionic prevail in every department of the Escorial. The chief objection of critical spectators is, that the building,

* Though the revenue of the monks of the Escorial was diminished by the resumption, on Philip's demise, of an estate in lands, called *campillo*, to the yearly amount of 18,000 crowns, their income is still very great. As an instance, the annual value of the wool produced by the flocks belonging to this convent, is said to be not less than £20,000. It is imported into this kingdom, under the title of the "Escorial pile," and it supplies the raw material for some of the most beautiful specimens from the looms of the West of England.

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departing from the progressive simplicity of a whole, is too much *broken into parts*. Admitting the existence of this want of architectural excellence, the ingenuous will perceive that it is a necessity incurred by the oppressive circumstance of restriction before mentioned.

It was the peculiar fortune of the founder, after employing twenty-two years in perfecting his edifice, to enjoy its splendour thirteen years. He died here, and lies buried in the Pantheon.

In obedience to our original intention, we subjoin some hints as to the real character of Philip II.—The reputation of no man has been more variously reported than that of this monarch. The Protestant powers, with our own country at their head, have exhausted the epithets of acrimony in stigmatising his alleged cruelty, duplicity, and unsanctified and peculiar superstition.—Philip stands depicted to the *reformed* part of the religious world, as a gloomy, sullen, and ignorant tyrant; equally devoid of natural talent and habitual generosity.—The Spaniards, with a pious resolve not to be out-done in exaggeration, elevate him to a height that looks down on the sublimest pitch of mortal attainment;—with them his wisdom is oracular, his clemency angelic, and his humility indescribable.*—Anxious to divest interest and passion of their respective mistakes, we will make it our task to adduce reasons for leading the reader through a middle course; which, though it is held by statesmen to be unsafe in regard to politics, is still very frequently the preferable path when human character demands consideration.

Two great monarchs, Ferdinand and Charles V. divide with Philip the admiration of Spain. To a shrewd but crooked policy, rather than the bravery usual with the middle ages, Ferdinand appears indebted for celebrity. His mean jealousy of the talent which supported him, and his base ingratitude

* In 1626, an octavo book was printed in Spain, entitled "Sayings and Actions of Don Philip II." It is divided into eighteen chapters, which contain a detailed account of thirty good qualities, or virtues, which, if they centred in Philip II. were certainly never united in mortal man before!

This book was reprinted at Madrid, in 1748, and was deemed too precious a treasure to be dedicated to any mundane personage.—It was accordingly addressed to "the most sacred Empress of Heaven and Earth, Mary, mother of God, Lady of the Universe, and Queen of the Angels."

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to Columbus, materially diminish the lustre of those successes with which his administration was attended.

Charles built his fame on a more generous basis. Deliberate in the cabinet and ardent in the field, he stood pre-eminent among the most gallant and enterprising monarchs of the sixteenth century. But his virtues were rather gaudy than useful. It is seldom, indeed, that the sovereign whose actions make much noise in record, has done any thing truly desirable for his country. Historians, in this instance, partake of frivolity with *the people*, and expend their eloquence in praise of a toy, while all that is solid and beneficial they set aside as not sufficiently elevated for a page of so much fanciful importance. —The bravery of Charles was rendered injurious by the alloy of unbounded ambition; and his wisdom was disgraced by the insidious and fraudulent cast of his political transactions. —His base detention of Francis, and the mean hypocrisy of his conduct in directing prayers to be read for the restoration of the “holy Father’s” liberty, while it was well known that the pope was held in captivity entirely by the influence of Charles himself;—these and divers similar instances of paltry dissimulation, detract considerably from the chivalric brilliancy of the emperor’s military adventures.

Unlike his two rivals for fame, Philip evinced little disposition for the hardships of the tented field. But it evidently is not in mere circumstances of personal exposure that intrinsic fortitude is discovered. Philip’s equanimity was displayed in many instances. He was undaunted amidst adversity, and good fortune failed to lift his spirits to that insolence of pride too frequent with successful greatness.* Let one example suffice.—When that formidable armament which Spain equipped against this country, was so signally defeated by English valour, in alliance with the tremendous turbulence of the waves that girt our shore, Philip received the intelligence without the slightest emotion, and publicly returned thanks to God that the calamity had not been greater. He praised the Duke of Medina Sidonia for the zeal he

* Humanity appears eminently conspicuous in the single minute in which Philip was known to depart from the most rigid equality of temperance.—When the Duke of Savoy, immediately subsequent to the battle of St. Quintin, approached to kiss the king’s hands, Philip prevented the compliment by embracing him with warmth, and exclaiming, “It rather becomes me to kiss yours, which have gained me such a glorious, and, comparatively, *bloodless victory*.”

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had displayed in the service, and while the voice of envy accused the Prince of Parma of negligence, Philip rejected with indignation the unworthy calumny, and honored that gallant commander with fresh marks of esteem and confidence.

A series of events contributed to exalt the power of Philip at the commencement of his reign. The victory of St. Quintin opened France to his troops, and laid the patrimonial territories of St. Peter entirely at his mercy; yet he forbore to extend the horrors of war to the interior of France, and not only granted the pope an equitable peace, but consented that the Duke of Alva should repair, in person, to Rome, and ask pardon, in the name of his royal master, for having invaded the possessions of the church.

Even in the last moments of a lengthened life, Philip preserved his wonted equanimity of temper. Through fifty days of almost unprecedented suffering, the king lay in the arms of death. No murmur escaped his lips. Smiles of hope, and exemplary patience, mocked the most unkind attacks of lassitude and pain.

Two days before his dissolution, he summoned to his bed-side, his son and daughter. He discoursed with them on the vanities of human greatness; imparted many salutary counsels respecting the government of their dominions; and evinced the sincerity of his religious professions by exhorting them to cultivate and maintain the Catholic faith.—The interview ended, he gave directions for his funeral, and caused his coffin to be brought into his chamber and placed within his view. This solemn object he continued to contemplate till the last struggle of life resigned him to the futurity he was not afraid of anticipating.

The pride of Philip is particularly offensive to English writers; but this pride the Spaniards never could discover.—In fact, he possessed not any peculiar dignity of reserve. His temper and manners were precisely those of the Spanish cavalier of his own time. His bitterest reviler describes him as having exhibited pride *in manner*, not in *action*. This manner was the popular mode of Spain, in the sixteenth century; and therefore the whole country must be implicated, or Philip be relieved from blame. That open and unostentatious affability which would have gratified the English, must have rendered Philip an object of contempt to his own subjects.

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The bigotry of Philip is the most displeasing trait in his character; but if credit may be given to the Spanish writers (who, at least, ought to know as much about it as foreign chroniclers) the reports of Protestant penmen have exaggerated strangely. Philip reigned at an unfortunate period for a prince of gloomy notions on religious subjects. Remnants of the Moors still inhabited Granada, though their former territories were now annexed to the Spanish throne. The Lutherans, under the Prince of Orange, protected their new tenets by the sword, in the Netherlands. Political suspicion was thus joined to religious fervor, as a disavowal of faith was immediately followed by open acts of insurrection.

But, waving the plea of political inducement, the writer who would soften the terrific tints with which prejudice has disfigured an individual character, may certainly affirm, that the excesses of superstition have ever tended to persecution and blood. The same spirit that prompted the scandalous invasions termed crusades, may be safely asserted sufficient to stimulate in the breast of Philip and his English consort that asperity of denunciation with which they stigmatised so many of their subjects. The groans of the butchered thousands in the east* who fell martyrs to the fury of the red cross knights, were heaved at too great a distance to meet, even in fancy, the ears of the clement Christians of modern times; but the afflictions of those holy victims who asserted at the stake the truth of reformed christianity, are repeated by all succeeding Protestants with something nearly similar to the talent imputed to certain local echoes—that of multiplying the original sound, in the ratio of ten to one—if the wind is in a particular quarter. While humanity mourns over so degrading a perversion of religious zeal, it appears no more than charitable to affirm, that the bigotry of Philip was the vice of the time, rather than that of the man. His sanguinary mode of exhibiting that bigotry may charitably be deduced from the vices of the time also. It was, as far as regards sentimental refinement, a semi-barbarous age, and fire and sword then invariably, through all christian countries, occupied the place now possessed by cool discussion and polemic argument.

* So great was the terror inspired by the Christian arms in the "holy land," that even now, mothers who wish to terrify their babes into silence, are in the habit of crying "Hush! or I will call King Richard to you!"

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The death of Carlos is pointedly injurious to the memory of Philip. The weakness of this prince, and his ardent thirst for that power which he would not have been able to dignify, are circumstances clearly ascertained. But, still, the king, by delivering him over to the inquisitorial authority, forfeited all claim to delicacy of parental feeling. That step once taken, probably even the power of Philip was insufficient to the speedy enlargement of the offender.* The death of the prince, many writers of opposite opinions to the court of Spain, were ingenious enough to find occasioned by poison administered by a hand which nature would recoil to hear mentioned. On cool investigation, we have reason to suppose that the fears of the unhappy delinquent hastened that catastrophe, which was certainly brought about by self-destructive means.

Though severity, in the above instance, assuredly stained the character of Philip, a jealousy of rival talent was far from a leading feature in his character. His natural brother, Don John of Austria, was entrusted by him with the highest military commands. Though the popularity of this youthful competitor was not overlooked by the watchful eye of Philip, he scrupled not to resign to him the conduct of the war in the Netherlands, when the public welfare appeared to demand that appointment.

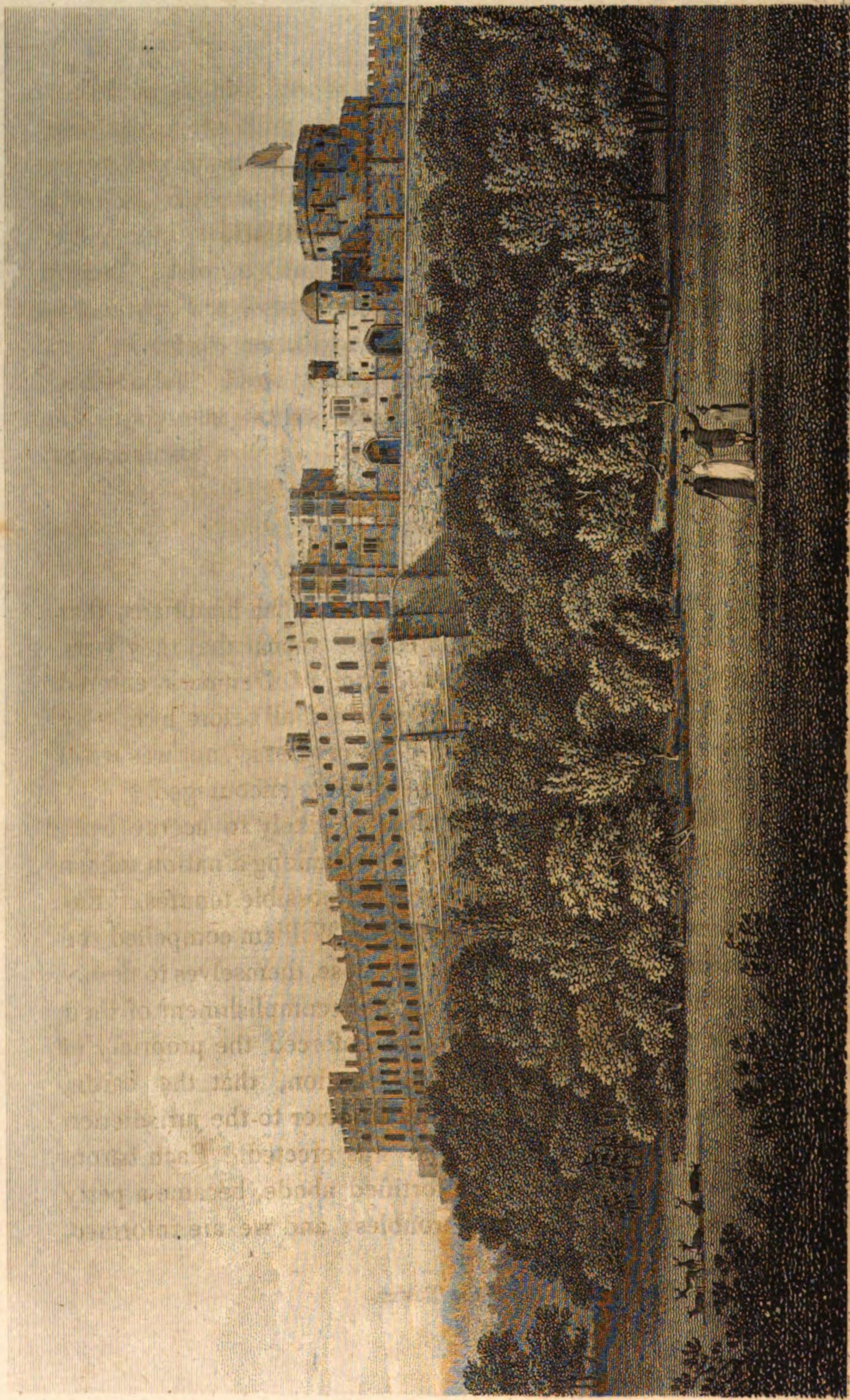
Perseverance, pursued by ill-fortune, becomes inflexibility:—this species of obstinacy may, in many cases, be alleged against Philip. The times increased the propensity to severity ever observable in his temper; so that pity and urbanity are certainly not to be numbered among his merits. Perhaps it may be truly said, that he had very few virtues of an attractive cast; for mere temperance, love of justice, and economical activity, are qualities of by far too humble a nature to call forth the plaudits of historians, delighting only in bold achievements and splendid acts of generosity. While we regret that the failings of this prince should be so bitterly augmented by one party, and his accomplishments so ridiculously elevated by the other, we will venture to

* The Inquisitor general was nominated by the king, but confirmed by the pope. His power was such, that, in several instances, the authority of the sovereign was unable to controvert it.—Yet, so great was the dislike of the people of Spain for the Moors and Jews, that they solicited the perpetual rigors of the inquisition, and respected the monarch in proportion to the zeal he displayed for the operations of that court.

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bestow unqualified praise on one particular of his character;—his systematic patronage of the finer arts. The architect, the sculptor, and the painter, were ever secure of patronage from his munificent hand. In a letter to the governor of Milan, directing the payment of certain arrears to the illustrious Titian, Philip says, “you know how much I am interested in this, as it concerns Titian.” Alonso Coello, and Antonio Moro, were not only encouraged by his bounty, but were admitted by him into habits of the most familiar friendship. Coello’s painting-room communicated with the royal apartments at the Escorial. Here Philip was a frequent visitor, and tasted hours of tranquil enjoyment which the pomp of crowns must ever strive in vain to communicate.

THOUGH it is evident from the testimony of several English historians, that castles, or fortified places, of any date, do not appear that they were by any means numerous in the time of Henry the Second, King of Denmark, entered the realm against King Henry, he is said to have subdued all before him, “by reason that there were no castles to stop his progress,” nor was it till after the Norman conquest, that castles of this sort were encouraged. This politic people, however, by the aid of their fortifications, were enabled to acquire from massive fortifications, which were ever observable in France, among a nation whose allegiance they retained, to be numbered among all possible terrors. Exercising the unlimited and very few virtues of a monarch, William compelled the English, by means of their fortifications, to themselves to defray the expense of building them, the payment of which was the accomplishment of their subjugation. The partition of the kingdom into counties, and the property of fortifying these buildings, was no doubt a great advantage to the monarch, that the baron, entrenched in his recess of stone, was obliged to the jurisdiction of the monarch for whose safeguard the fortress was created. Each baron, chiefly from the circumstance of possessing a fortified spot, became a petty monarch. This gave rise to various intestine troubles; and we are informed,



Taylor del.

Engraved by S. Porter, & J. Store

WINDSOR CASTLE

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Architectural and Historical Account

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THOUGH it is evident, from the testimony of several English historians, that castles, or fortified places, are of early date, it does not appear that they were by any means numerous, because, when Sweyne, King of Denmark, entered the realm against King Alfred, he is said to have subdued all before him, "by reason that there were no forts, or castles, to stop his progress," nor was it till after the Norman conquest that buildings of this sort were encouraged.*

This politic people easily perceived the advantages likely to accrue from massive fortifications, tenanted by their own partizans, among a nation whose allegiance they retained on the most precarious of all possible tenures. Exercising the unlimited powers of a military despotism, William compelled the English, by means of various taxes levied for that purpose, themselves to defray the expense of building those castles intended for the accomplishment of their subjugation. The perilous exigency of the times enforced the propriety of fortifying these buildings with such scrupulous caution, that the baron, entrenched in his recess of stone, became virtually superior to the jurisdiction of the monarch for whose safeguard the fortress was erected. Each baron, chiefly from the circumstance of possessing a fortified abode, became a petty monarch. This gave rise to various intestine troubles; and we are informed,

* See our account of the Tower.

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when Henry II. ascended the throne, several fortresses were dismantled, and all persons were prohibited from constructing castellated mansions without the king's especial licence. Royal castles, however, were erected at the public expense "for the defence of the country," which were committed generally to the charge of some trusty person, who was styled governor or constable. They were sometimes in possession of the sheriff of the county, who was responsible at the Exchequer for the rents of the dependant lands. The construction of castles of defence appears to have been as nearly uniform as situation would allow. The walls were generally faced with stone; the inside was of the same materials. The angles were always coigned, and the arches were turned with stone squared. The most advanced part of the building was the barbican, or watch-tower. This elevation does not appear to have possessed any determinate place of occupancy. It was, however, always an outwork, and sometimes formed the entrance into the castle. Next in order was the moat, or fosse, which was either wet or dry, but generally the former. In dry ditches were sometimes subterranean passages, through which the besieged were in the habit of sallying. Over the moat was a standing, or a draw-bridge, leading to the ballium. Within the moat were placed the walls of the ballium. The entrance was through an embattled gate, between two towers. The porter's lodgings were usually over the gateway. The keep, or dungeon, commonly stood on an eminence in the centre, and various buildings for the reception of soldiery, &c. were placed with little regularity around it. The keep was generally square, and consisted of four or five stories, with turrets at each angle. Staircases were always placed in the turrets, and frequently a well. The walls were of an extraordinary thickness. Instead of windows, loop-holes served to admit light, and afforded the besieged convenient space for the discharge of arrows. In the days of baronial turbulence, little delicacy of feeling prevailed, and all notions of elegance, and even of comfort, were necessarily sacrificed to the one great, needful object—security. In the keep were always placed the apartments designed for the baron, or governor, and his family; and beneath those apartments, in the same keep, or dungeon, were the cells dedicated to the imprisonment of the conquered. A melancholy picture of the barbarity of our ancestors.

Before the use of gunpowder, castles constructed in this manner were so

most probably to support it.

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formidable, that a regular siege often occupied a very considerable portion of time. That of Calais may serve as an instance, where the works were so extensive, and the labourers so numerous, that a complete town was built near the lines of the offensive party. Market days were established, and the besiegers entered into all the formalities of domestic arrangement.

Among the first fortresses of this order, erected by the conquering Norman, was one at Windsor.* The manor of old Windsor belonged to the Saxon kings, who are supposed to have had a palace there, from a very early period. It is certain, that King Edward the Confessor sometimes kept his court at Windsor. He afterwards gave the manor to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. William the Conqueror procured it again from that monastery by exchange.

In the reign of William I. old Windsor contained "an hundred houses, whereof twenty-two were exempt from tax; out of the rest there went thirty shillings." The site of the royal palace of old Windsor is not known. It continued to be the occasional residence of the monarchs after the erection of the castle, which William appears to have intended merely for a fortified place of retreat. In the old palace William I. kept his Whitsuntide, A. D. 1071. A synod was held there in 1072. William Rufus kept there his Whitsuntide, in 1095, his Christmas in 1096, and his Christmas in 1097. It is usual to describe these celebrations as taking place at the castle of new Windsor, but such accounts have little probability of correctness. King Henry I. certainly kept his Christmas at old Windsor, in 1105, and his Easter in 1107; but, having enlarged the castle with many "fair buildings," he removed the court to new Windsor; and, for the first time, kept the festival of Whitsuntide at Windsor Castle, in 1110. Henry II. was frequently at the castle. Several parliaments were summoned thither during his reign. The castle was deemed an object of importance in the romantic and chivalrous days of the first Richard. It passed through various hands during that monarch's expedition to the Holy Land.

Maud, the wife of William de Braose, was confined in Windsor Castle by

* The origin of the name is supposed to be found in the winding character of the Thames in the vicinity. The word is immediately derived from the Saxon, and the conjecture has sufficient probability to support it.

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King John. Historians report that her resolute behaviour, under circumstances of captivity, incensed the sovereign so highly, that he caused her to be starved to death in the dungeon of his regal abode.

In 1215, King John retired to Windsor Castle, as a place of security,* during the popular tumult which then prevailed. It was from Windsor that the king issued to sign Magna Charta at Runnymede, the barons having refused to attend him in his own castle. He remained at Windsor for some time afterwards.

Shortly after, Windsor was besieged by a large army in the interest of the barons. Captain Inglehard de Achie, with a party of only sixty soldiers, defended the Castle so gallantly, that every effort of the besiegers was without success. During the remainder of King John's tempestuous reign, Windsor was seldom, for any length of time, possessed by the baronial party, though it experienced many of the distresses usual with intestine warfare. Edward I. and II. frequently resided at Windsor, and it was here that Edward III. was born.

The English character was now about to undergo an alteration. The period was arrived when unembossed iron was not judged sufficient for knightly armor, nor an impregnable pile of unshaped stones supposed a fit residence for the crowned head of the island. The precise form of King William's fortress cannot be ascertained, but there is no reason for believing that it possessed much precedence of elegance over other buildings of the same description. Its chief merit lay in the solidity of the structure. The ramparts, the turrets, the barbican, were the great objects of attention with the royal builders before the time of Edward of Windsor: while the queen's possibly needed less delicacies of accommodation than the rural housewife of the present day.† Edward III. was happily enabled to lead the English genius

* It was esteemed the strongest fortress at that time in the kingdom, except the Tower of London.

† Edward I. and Queen Eleanor frequently resided at Windsor. It is stated, as an indication of the simplicity of the times, that the queen usually went thither by water, not being a good horsewoman, and the roads being impassible for her conveyance by waggons.—That the roads were not very desirable may be readily credited. Within the last forty years, they were so bad, that a coach, with four horses, was usually ten hours in performing a journey to London. The same journey is now generally completed in four hours.

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to pursuits beyond the merely useful. As usual, the temper of the age may be ascertained through the medium of its buildings. From a survey of the edifice under consideration, it would be easy to pronounce (without historical erudition) the reign of Edward marked by a spirit of embellished warfare.

Edward always evinced a decided fondness for the place of his nativity. Walsingham relates that, in 1344, he built a chamber, which he calls the round table, 200 feet in diameter; but this appears to have been merely a temporary structure. A nobler project occupied the sovereign's mind. In William de Wyckham he found an able assistant, and by that architect the plan of the present castle was devised.

It was customary, when royal castles were projected, to impress workmen of every requisite description. Such was the manner in which William de Wyckham proceeded with his majestic undertaking. According to Lysons, it was in the year 1356 that William de Wyckham had a regular appointment as clerk of the works, with a fee of one shilling a day whilst at Windsor, and two shillings when he went elsewhere upon business. His clerk had a salary of three shillings a-week. In 1359, the architect was appointed keeper of the manors of old and new Windsor. The next year, 360 workmen were impressed. The small rate in which they were paid by the king induced some to quit Windsor clandestinely, but writs were immediately issued to prohibit all persons from employing them on pain of forfeiting their goods and chattels. Such of the workmen as were apprehended were committed to Newgate. The plague having carried off a great number of the king's workmen, in 1362, writs were issued to the sheriffs of several counties to impress 302 masons and diggers of stone. The counties of York, Salop, and Devon, were to furnish sixty men each. Glaziers were impressed in the year 1363. Very few commissions were issued after the year 1369, and none after 1373, so that it may be presumed the building was then finished. Thus, it was about seventeen years, from the appointment of the architect to the probable completion of the building. No part of William the Norman's castle was preserved, except three towers at the west end of the lower ward. The parts constructed by Edward III. comprised the king's palace, the great hall of St. George, the lodgings on the east and south sides of the upper ward, the Round Tower, the Chapel of St. George, the Canons' houses in the lower ward, and the whole circumference of the walls, with the towers and gates.

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Those progressive improvements which have brought the Castle to its present magnificent condition may be thus stated. Edward IV. rebuilt, on a large scale, the chapel of St. George. Henry VII. vaulted the roof of the choir of that structure, and added the stately fabric adjoining to the king's lodgings in the upper ward. Henry VIII. rebuilt the great gate in the lower ward, leading to the town. King Edward VI. began, and Queen Mary perfected, the bringing of water from Blackmoor park into a fountain in the centre of the upper court. Queen Elizabeth made a terrace-walk on the north side of the building.

Under Charles II. the Castle experienced material alterations. The building had become subject to violence during the civil wars. Not contented with repairing, Charles strove to show his taste by additions, but some of these did not redound much to the credit of his judgment. The face of the upper court was entirely changed; the gothic windows, which perhaps offended from their want of regularity, were enlarged, and rendered certainly more uniform and convenient, but without the least attention to the general character of the palace. Charles not only enlarged the terrace-walk, on the north-side of the Castle, but carried a like terrace round the east, and part of the south side of it, and new-faced the whole terrace with a rampart of free-stone. Succeeding monarchs have effected slight alterations, but none have been so splendid in their attentions to this noble pile as his late majesty.

The Castle consists of two courts, or wards, between which is the keep, or Round Tower, usually termed the middle ward. The circumference of the whole Castle, according to Langley's admeasurement, is 4180 feet; the length from east to west 1480 feet; and the area, exclusive of the terrace-walks, about twelve acres.

The upper ward is a spacious quadrangle, formed on the west-side by the Round Tower, on the north by the state apartments, St. George's Hall, and the chapel royal; and, on the east and south sides, by the private apartments of their majesties, and those of the junior branches of the royal family. An equestrian statue, in bronze, of Charles II. ornaments the centre of the square. This statue was erected in the year 1680, and is dedicated, by one Tobias Rustat, "to his most gracious master, Charles, the best of Kings."

The tower, (or middle ward,) is built on a considerable elevation, in the form of an amphitheatre. The ascent into the upper apartment is by a flight

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of 100 stone steps, at the top of which is planted a piece of cannon. Seventeen pieces of cannon are mounted round the curtain of the tower, which is the only battery now in the Castle. The apartments of this tower belong to the constable or governor.*

The lower ward is far more spacious than the upper, and is divided into two parts by the collegiate church, or chapel, of St. George. On the north, or inner side, are the houses and apartments of the dean and canons, minor canons, clerks, verger, and other officers of the foundation; and, on the south and west sides of the outer part of this court, are the houses of the alms, or Poor Knights of Windsor.†

The chapel of St. George is built on the site of a chapel founded by Henry III. Some remains of the ancient building may be seen on the north side of the dean's cloisters, and at the east end of the chapel, behind the altar. When King Edward III. rebuilt the decayed edifice, he dedicated his new structure to the Virgin Mary and St. George; but the building raised by the third Edward sinking in its turn, King Edward IV. founded the present magnificent pile, the original architect of which was Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury. The work was not completed till the reign of Henry VIII., the beautiful roof of the choir was put up in the year 1508. Sir Reginald Bray succeeded Bishop Beauchamp in superintendence of this extensive work, and was a liberal contributor to several parts of the fabric. The rood loft and lanthorn were erected in 1516. The present organ gallery, and screen at the west end of the choir, have been lately erected. The stalls of the knights-

* The office of governor is of great antiquity and honor. The first governor, who was appointed by William the Conqueror, under the name of Castellan, was Walter Fitz-Other, ancestor of the Earls of Plymouth, who, from that circumstance, took the appellation of De Windsor. The Archbishop of Canterbury was selected for that office by King John.

† This charitable institution owes its origin to Edward III. who intended it exclusively for the benefit of military men fallen to decay. Their number was originally twenty-four, but afterwards increased to twenty-six, to correspond with the number of the Knights of the Garter. The houses for the Poor Knights were built in the reign of Queen Mary. The present number of knights is eighteen. The annual income of each knight is about fifty pounds a-year, exclusive of a dwelling-house. Mr. Samuel Travers, who died in 1728, directed seven decayed naval characters to be added to the Poor Knights of Windsor. A suitable building has been erected for their accommodation.

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companions, which are very richly carved in wood, exhibit the names and arms of the different personages by whom they have been occupied. The painted windows are well executed. The stone roof is an excellent piece of workmanship; it is an ellipsis, supported by ancient gothic pillars, whose ribs and groins sustain the whole ceiling. Different devices embellish the various parts of this costly roof.

The choir, which is separated from the body of the church by the organ gallery, is a part of the structure raised by Edward III.

Various minor chapels, founded by illustrious persons, occupy different parts of the building.

At the east end is an edifice called the tomb-house, built by Henry VII. and intended for his burial-place, before he erected that magnificent structure adjoining Westminster Abbey, which goes by his name. This building being then unappropriated, was granted by Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey, who began to erect there a most sumptuous monument for himself. The design of this monument, which was never finished, is said to have exceeded in splendour that of Henry VII.* Benedetto of Florence had received 4250 ducats for what he had executed before the Cardinal's fall; and the expense of gilding the part then completed, which was not more than half, is said to have amounted to 380*l*. King Charles I. is reported to have designed this chapel for the burial-place of himself and family. The civil war, however, frustrated this intention. The fate of the king is well known, and the unfinished monument was demolished by the Puritans.† In the reign of James II. the building was fitted up as a chapel for the celebration of divine worship, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church. Verrio was employed to paint the ceiling and walls. This chapel remained in ruin and neglect, till the year 1800, when it was repaired by order of his late majesty.

* The monument is described, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as "consisting of white and black marble. Eight large brazen columns were placed round it, and, nearer the tomb, four others, in the shape of candlesticks." It was then thought that Queen Elizabeth intended to be buried in Wolsey's Chapel.

† The depredations committed by the popular party were very extensive at this period. In the year 1642, the ornaments and vessels belonging to the chapel of St. George, and appropriated to the use of the altar, amounting to 3580 ounces of wrought plate, were seized by the parliamentary forces under Captain Fogg.

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A minute description of each apartment in this regal castle, would be much too extensive for our limits. Suffice it to say, that many noble productions of the arts, worthy the selection of the monarch of a great country, are here assembled.

No monarch, since the time of Edward, has, perhaps, effected greater alterations in Windsor Castle than George III.; and certainly no alterations have been executed with so much taste. The interior has experienced considerable improvements, and received various superb embellishments.

Some idea of the chief ornaments and curiosities formerly contained in the Castle, may be gathered from the following passages, transcribed from the writings of a foreigner in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: "There are worthy of notice here two bathing rooms, ceiled and wainscotted with looking-glass; the chamber in which Henry VI. was born; Queen Elizabeth's bed-chamber, where is a table of red marble with white streaks; a gallery every where ornamented with emblems and figures; a chamber, in which are the royal beds of Henry VII. and his queen; of Edward VI.; of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; all of them eleven feet square, and covered with quilts, shining with gold and silver; Queen Elizabeth's bed, with curious coverings of embroidery, but not quite so long or large as the others; a piece of tapestry, in which is represented Clovis, King of France, with an angel presenting to him the *fleurs de lis*, to be borne in his arms; for, before this time, the kings of France bore three toads in their shield, instead of which they afterwards placed three *fleurs de lis* on a blue field. This antique tapestry is said to have been taken from a king of France, while the English were masters there. We were shewn here, among other things, the horn of a unicorn, of above eight spans and a half in length, valued at above 10,000*l*. The bird of paradise, three spans long, and a cushion most curiously wrought by Queen Elizabeth's own hand."

How interesting a contrast to these insignificant particulars is presented by the performances of art and letters, now collected in the venerable castle. Vandyke and West occupy the places possessed by the bird of paradise and unicorn's horn; while even the cushion, "most curiously wrought by Queen Elizabeth's own hand," is equalled, if not eclipsed, by the works of elegant taste, produced by those princesses whose pursuits are an honor to their country.

We have endeavoured to give, in our plate, the most accurate representation

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of the Castle. It exhibits the north-front, inclining a little to the east, and comprises the star-building, the gallery, (what is called Blenheim Tower, from the circumstance of its containing the banner presented by the Duke of Marlborough,) and the Round Tower, as seen from the little park. Perhaps this view is one of the most interesting, but it was deemed especially desirable, as tending to perpetuate the appearance of the original structure, previous to the alterations mentioned as taking place under the direction of Mr. Wyatt.

The new Castle of Windsor certainly proves a very considerable accession of art to have taken place in the architectural character of the kingdom, during the fourteenth century. By remains to be seen of Norman castles, we may judge of the rudeness of King William's structure. The ruins of Kendal, Knaresborough, and Pontefract castles, and the present more perfect condition of Skipton, Cawder, and Glamys, (which were imitated from the Norman) show the deformity and inconvenience of the fortresses erected at that time.

What we have said of the building raised by Edward implies that it was not a regular fortification. The Round Tower had originally a strong wall and draw-bridge, but no moat was deemed necessary to the security of the exterior lines of the castle. Where the wall of the outer ballium occupied its frowning site in the Norman castles, regal lodgings were placed by the confident Edward. Perhaps the building at Windsor was the first attempt in this kingdom to render the castellated character of edifice amenable to purposes of splendour and accommodation. In this respect, the Castle must ever be deemed a high honor to the memory of Edward. His fearlessness of danger proves him to have been the father of his people; and convinces us that he had obtained the love and admiration of all ranks by wisdom, courage, and urbanity.

When we recollect that in the Norman military architecture, the walls were preposterously thick, that the apertures were either filamentary, or the arches semicircular and supported by clumsy pillars, and consider the harsh, oppressive features of their designs, in which the picturesque was despised, and even the convenient neglected, we must own that Wyckham presented his country with a valuable specimen of improved taste in his Berkshire Castle; but still, it cannot be denied, that the building wanted the regularity easily attainable even in a military edifice. Windsor Castle, as left by Wyckham, consisted rather of a town of towers, than a harmonious combination of

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embattled erections. The peculiar advantages of the site were calculated to display any military buildings to great effect. The extension of the Castle is princely and commanding. But we think that, with the munificent spirit of Edward to support him, Wyckham might have produced a building more consonant in its leading features, and, therefore, more striking in its general effect. It must, however, be recollected that the architects of the early centuries laboured under great disadvantages. They were generally deficient in learning. The remuneration usually received was not calculated to promote vigorous application, while the want of taste in their employers too frequently forbade the possibility of excursive experiments. Scarcely one architect had travelled to examine the works of contemporaries or explore the remains of antiquity. It was on the interior of St. George's-hall, and the chapel, that all the delicacies of architecture then known were bestowed. The former is allowed to be one of the finest rooms in Europe; the latter was rebuilt by Edward IV, but the original structure was, in all probability, worthy of the royal founder. The situation of Windsor Castle is known to be one of the most delightful in the kingdom. The forest dependant on this building, was formerly of much greater circuit than it is at present, extending itself into Buckinghamshire and Surrey,* and over the whole of the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, as far as Hungerford. The vale of the Kennet was disforested, by charter, in 1226. Norden's map of the forest, taken in the year 1607, makes its circuit seventy-seven miles and a half, exclusively of the liberties, which extended into Buckinghamshire, the true limits of which he could not ascertain. It was then divided into seventeen walks. The circuit of the forest, as described in Rocque's map, appears to be about fifty six miles. A portion of Bagshot-heath is in the forest; the greater part of most parishes within its limits is in culture. The great park formerly contained 3800 acres, the major part of which his majesty has now devoted to experiments in agriculture. The little park, on the north and east sides of the Castle, which, in Norden's time, consisted of only 280 acres, was enlarged, and enclosed with a brick-wall, by King William III. It now contains about 500 acres. The ground on the north side, which was laid out as a garden by Queen Anne, has been

* The forest, on the Surry side of the Thames, included Cobham and Chertsey: and, following the course of the river Wey, extended up to the town of Guildford.

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since converted into a lawn. In this park stood the celebrated Herne's oak, immortalized by Shakspeare in the "Merry Wives of Windsor."

The progressive fortunes of a town so immediately dependant as Windsor on the residence of the sovereign, can scarcely fail to be considered a subject of curiosity.—New Windsor was declared a free borough by King Edward I. in the year 1276, who granted various privileges to the burgesses. They were incorporated by Edward IV. King Charles II. gave the corporation the manor of Underore, within the limits of the borough. The market-cross (afterwards destroyed in the civil war,) was erected in the year 1380. The Guildhall was built in 1686.

Windsor was for a time the county-town under the charter of King Edward I. So many inconveniences arose from its remote situation, in regard to the greater part of Berkshire, that the assizes were removed to Reading, in consequence of petition, in 1314. It appears, by a record lately discovered in the Tower, that the king (Edward II.) had, in the first instance, given a decided negative to the petition, declaring that he would have the county-gaol in no other castle than his own. The borough sent two burgesses to parliament in the reign of Edward I. The number of inhabitants, in 1555, was only 1000; the number in 1810 was 6155. An act for paving the town passed in 1585.

We have already given a brief review of the historical incidents associated with the ancient fortress "de Windesor," we must now proceed with some account of the present building.

The reign of Edward III. is remarkable in our annals, as, by his regulations, all the orders of the state acquired a dependance on each other. The result was a coalition of strength which increased the energies of the whole. From this change of government a change of manners naturally arose. Mutual confidence took place of distrust and reserve. The baron no longer sat immured in his castle, or appeared abroad surrounded by vassals cased in iron. A spirit of sociability and splendour pervaded the upper walks of life, while the inferior classes began to feel their consequence in the scale of society, and to taste the sweets of rational freedom.

An alteration so important was not likely to be effected without some correspondent evils. It could not be expected that mankind would instinctively

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possess talent to join pertinacity of morals with the novel charms of elegance and gallantry. Historians represent the kingdom as plunged, at this period, in extreme licentiousness. The character peculiar to the middle ages, joined with the natural bent of his mind, readily induced Edward to direct the dawning spirit of refinement evident in his subjects to the embellishment of chivalry.

"In the year 1343," says a precursor, in the pleasing task of characterizing the pursuits and court of Edward, "the king had great purposes to effect, which could not wait for the tardy operations of architecture. He had listened to the tradition of Arthur, his magnanimous predecessor, with rapture, and he was determined to make the inclinations of his heart coincide with the schemes of his policy, and with the designs of his ambition. The glory of the future part of his reign depended on the gallantry and wisdom he displayed at this early period.

"The court of the young king was at the time frequented by some of the most powerful nobility of Spain, Italy, Flanders, Germany, and France; he was preparing for a war with the ancient rival of his kingdom; after the liberty of the subject had been protected by the confirmation of Magna Charta, and the commerce of the country had been promoted by the establishment of the woollen manufactories, his thoughts were fitly directed to the exterior: the arts of negotiation were now to be employed, and it was expedient Edward should place himself on a footing of equality with the distinguished foreigners at his court, to obtain all the advantages of personal treaty; he, therefore, proclaimed in his own kingdom, and throughout Europe, a tournament at Windsor; in consequence of which an amphitheatre was run up, in the style of the Roman buildings of this kind prior to Statilius Taurus, and the knights assembled distinguished themselves by feats of arms, the king mixing himself in the throng, bearing the device of a white swan, and this familiar challenge on his shield:—

‘ Hay, hay! the white swan.

By God’s soul, I am thy man.

"The active and dangerous amusements of the joust were succeeded by the hospitality of the feast. In imitation of the reputed founder of the castle, a

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round table was introduced, that prince and subject, native and foreigner, might join in the conviviality of the hour without distinction; and it is probable that, during these festive moments, the foundation was laid of England's future greatness; for, while the curiosity and admiration of Europe were yet attracted by the far-famed splendour of this tournament, the battle of Cressy was fought, and the town of Calais taken.

"The victory of Poitiers placed John, surnamed the Good, King of France, in the hands of the Black Prince: from his native soil he was conveyed a prisoner to this country, and, with the King of Scotland for his companion, occupied a part of Windsor Castle, as a prisoner of state to the English throne.

"The college of the Order of the Garter is held at the castle; the chapel of St. George, and the Chapter-house, were founded by Edward for that purpose. Windsor, according to Sir John Froissard, about the beginning of the sixth century, was honored with the institution of the Mensa Rotunda of King Arthur. In imitation of this establishment, as appears from Rastel's Chronicle, Richard I., at the siege of Acre, sanctioned this incorporation, and twenty-six knights, who firmly adhered to him, were distinguished by thongs of blue leather tied round the leg. What was left unfinished was completed in the nineteenth year of Edward III.

"The noble fraternity then instituted is the most ancient of all the orders to which the laity are admitted, being half a century prior to the French order of St. Michael, eighty years to that of the Golden Fleece, and about two centuries to those of St. Andrew and of the Elephant.

"Two hundred years after the date of this establishment, we find a strange story given in Polydore Virgil, about some Countess of Salisbury, or Pembroke, who, having dropped her garter at a public assembly, gave occasion to the motto adopted by the founder. The story is in itself so facetious, and the spirited reply so consonant with Edward's character, that we do not wonder at the credit it obtained. Our best antiquaries have, however, abandoned this conjecture; and, on looking into the laws of the society, we find it by no means supported. It is not improbable that, on the glorious day of Cressy, a garter was employed in some way as the signal of battle, and hence this distinction of the knights became not only a symbol of their union, but a commemoration of that important victory.

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“Peter the Great, of Russia, much nearer our own times, was not more sensible of the tendency of public exhibitions to soften and refine the manners of his ferocious clans, than our Edward of Windsor, who revived the tournaments with extraordinary splendour. Letters of safeguard were delivered to the most accomplished foreigners, and females of remarkable beauty were appointed to superintend on these festive occasions. In England this romantic amusement was first practised under Stephen, about the year 1140; but it was not usual until the reign of Cœur de Lion, when it was celebrated, with some magnificence, in the tilt-yard in St. James's. A most magnificent tournament was solemnized at Windsor, in the year 1358, at the feast of the Knights of the Garter, at that time usually distinguished as the Knights of St. George.

“The benefits of Wyckham's industry were now experienced; a vast number of nobility, native and foreign, were convened, and accommodated within the precincts of the Castle. The Duke of Brabant, and several sovereign princes, assisted at the ceremonies. Those knights who attended were required to be in complete military equipage, with arms on their shields and surcoats; and with caparisons on their horses, their esquires riding before, bearing their tilting spears, with their pennons and their helmets adorned with wreaths of silk, corresponding with the tinctures of their arms and of their liveries. The tournament being proclaimed, the proper officer suspended two shields upon a tree. He that offered to fight as a pedestrian (which was the more honorable way) made his public challenge by touching the shield on the right-hand; the cavaliers, on the contrary, touched that on the left.

“When a knight came near the barriers, he blew a trumpet, on this signal the heralds approached, and registered his name, armorials, and other proofs of his nobility, in their books; which is deemed the origin of heraldry.

“The champions being admitted within the circle, exchanged those ceremonies which the urbanity of chivalry had established, and paid their respects to the sovereign, the judges, and the ladies of the court. The alarm of the trumpet now proclaimed the contest. The knights, if on horseback, couched their lances, and, spurring their indignant steeds, ran fiercely at each other; and the spear being directed at the armour, a terrible shock was given, the clangor of arms resounded, and the shivered weapons glistened on the ground.

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If neither party were injured, it was considered honorable to continue the conflict to the third encounter; but it was disgraceful if a knight were dismounted, if he dropped his lance, disengaged any part of his armour, or injured the beast of his adversary.

"The formalities of the introduction of a subject to the honor of a Knight-companion of the Garter have frequently been repeated in our own day; but the circumstances attending the degradation of a knight have not been shown since the time of the late Duke of Ormond, at the beginning of the reign of George I.

"The ancient practice was solemnly to snatch away the sword of the knight, and to chop off his spurs (the chief ensigns of his honor) his coat-of-arms was then torn from his body, and another was substituted, whereon it was reversed; every piece of the armour of the recreant knight was then defaced by public violence.

"A knight is not now to be disgraced, unless, according to the second article of the regulations of King Henry VIII., he be found guilty of heresy, treason, or flight in battle.

"The sovereign, on this awful occasion, acquaints the knights-companions with the heinous crime. He commands Garter (principal king-at-arms,) to attend some of them in the presence of the convict knight, who first deprive him of his gorge and ribbon, and then of his garter. The publication of his crimes and degradation is now made, and a warrant is issued for taking down his achievements.

"On the morning of this duty, Garter, in his coat-of-arms, (in the presence of the black-rod and of the officers of arms,) reads the instrument for publishing the knight's degradation; when Garter pronounces these words, 'be expelled, and put from among the arms!' a herald, appointed for the purpose, takes the crest, the banner, and the sword, and throws them into the choir. The achievements are then hurled into the body of the church, first the sword, then the banner, and last of all the crest. In this order they are spurned through the west door, from thence through the Castle gate, and they are then thrown into the fosse.

"It may enable the student in antiquities to examine the monuments in

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the chapel of St. George, with more advantage, if we point out the rules established for the interment of knights, when the order and laws of chivalry were strictly observed.

“Sovereign princes were represented on their tombs, in armour, with their escutcheons, crowns, crests, supporters, and all other marks of royalty. A victorious knight had his sword raised, and naked, in his right-hand, his shield in the left, and his helmet on his head. Those who died prisoners were without spurs, helmet, or sword.

“Those who died in battle, and were defeated, were represented without their coat over their armour, their sword in the scabbard, the visor up, their hands joined at the breast, and their feet resting on a dead lion.

“The son of a governor, dying during the siege, was to be shewn in complete armour, even in infancy, and his head was to repose on a helmet.

“A gentleman who had devoted the vigor of his life to military duty, and in old age had retired to a monastic institution, appeared over his tomb with the upper part of his effigy in the habit of the order he professed, but with the lower in complete armour.

“A knight killed in single combat was honored with complete armour, but his left-arm was crossed upon his right, and his battle-axe was not to be in his grasp; his weapons were to be placed by him. On the contrary, the victor was represented with his right-arm crossed over the left, armed at all points, and grasping his battle-axe.

“But if any person had been accused of treason, murder, rape, or as an incendiary, instead of being honorably interred, he was treated in the most contemptuous manner; his arms were broken, his body was dragged on a hurdle, and cast out to be devoured by the fowls of the air, or suspended on a gallows, to become the permanent object of national detestation.”

Windsor was the occasional residence of Queen Elizabeth, and appears to have been a spot adapted to the regal amusements of her reign. A breakfast of beef and ale must be allowed necessary to this amazon princess and her maids of honor, when their accustomed exercises are duly considered. Frequently the timorous hart was chased through the meanders of the great park, the queen galloping at the head of the pursuers; and when the affrighted prey was driven to an extremity, and the huntsman interfered to rescue the

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spoil from the gaping mouths of the dogs, her majesty, as an especial mark of favor and respect, was permitted to show her supremacy by cutting the hart's throat!

Whipping a blind bear was deemed a delicate and courtly pastime. The poor animal was hoodwinked, and some six or seven men stood in a circle, armed with long whips, and lashed him till he roared through rage and pain. His struggles, and the writhing contortions produced by his sufferings, formed the sport, and must needs have excited hearty laughter among the sovereign and her maidens.

Baiting the bull, and "the horse with the ape on his back," were also thought relaxations particularly agreeable.

The want of feminine tenderness evident in these pursuits must certainly be ascribed to the effects of habit; and it is but just to represent Elizabeth, as connected with Windsor, often observable in an attitude far different. Walking with measured steps, her favorite book of prayer (which was bound in solid gold) appended to her girdle by a golden chain, Elizabeth was frequently to be seen on the terrace of the Castle, engaged in numerous projects for the advancement of the national interests. Seldom has Windsor been honored with the attentions of a crowned head more capable, more patriotic, and more revered.

Charles I. was much attached to Windsor. This prince is well known to have derived his chief pleasures from his domestic circle. How lamentable that this partiality should have conducted to the melancholy termination of his dignities!* Charles built the gate at the east end of the terrace, the very gate beneath whose pediment walked the guard that held him in captivity. This circumstance, being so well known to the reader, we will refrain entering into the particulars which caused him to become a prisoner in the palace of his ancestors, where he was used with the utmost indignity.

We are informed, however, by all who have written on the subject, that wherever the second Charles held his court, shouts of laughter, and all the tumult and licentiousness of revelry, were sure to be found. That silent

* We allude to the ascendancy obtained over the ill-fated monarch by his queen, who was at once weak, tyrannical, and obstinate.

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monitor, the cell of anguish, in which his royal father had remained an insulted captive, conveyed no lesson of moderation to the depraved bosom of Charles. Surrounded by a throng of nobles, quite as careless and still more vicious than himself, the king, in this his favorite residence, resigned his hours to indolent voluptuousness, quite indifferent as to the solid interests of the people while his ministers were able to raise means for the gratification of his pampered desires. At Windsor, Eleanor Gwynn had luxurious apartments; and for her diversion, the witty monarch, no doubt, was wont to mimic the sage airs of those few wise men who ventured to remonstrate on the imprudence of his conduct. At Windsor, Buckingham was the constant companion of his sovereign; and here, probably, was made that detestable and unprecedented offer which shocked even the lax notions of rectitude possessed by Charles. The queen of this gay monarch is well known to have been neglected and despised by her regal consort. Though she did not presume to interfere with his pleasures, the king was perpetually wishing her death, or removal from his neighbourhood. Masquerading, at that time, was common; and, in the wild humour of the age, both king and queen went about the streets masked, and frequently entered houses in which their persons were entirely unknown. This custom presented such opportunities for violence, that the Duke of Buckingham proposed to seize the queen, steal her away, and *send her to one of the plantations abroad!* He professed himself ready to see that she was taken proper care of, and so managed that she should never be heard of more. It would then be easy to state that she "had deserted;" on the authority of which, the king might obtain a divorce. Charles rejected this proposal with horror, and said, "it would be a wicked thing to make a poor lady so miserable, *only because she was his wife*, and had no children by him, which were no faults of hers!"

The principal occurrences in the life of Edward, the illustrious founder of Windsor Castle, and patron-prince of the noble order of St. George, are known to every reader. The architects concerned in the royal building and its dependencies demand our biographical attention.

William de Wyckham was the son of John Perrot, and takes his accustomed name from Wyckham, in Hampshire; the place of his nativity. His father was in confined circumstances, but of good reputation. The biographer of those great characters who decorate the remote pages of history, too often

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encroaches on the precincts of the fabulist; he embodies the dim vapours that surround the subject of his task, and models a tale calculated to gratify the fancy rather than convey the probable truth. Various accounts are given, by different writers, of the education and early progress of William de Wyckham. The only circumstances known as facts are, that he was placed, by some liberal patron, at a school at Winchester, and that he was afterwards secretary to the constable of Winchester Castle.

He is supposed to have been taken to court when about two or three and twenty years of age. The first office which he appears upon record to have borne, was that of clerk of the King's Works in the manors of Henley and Yehamstead. His patent is dated May 10, 1356. His subsequent appointment to the superintendence of Windsor Castle, his talents for the task, and the nominal remuneration he received, we have already stated. Wyckham acquitted himself with so much diligence and ability in every fresh employment with which he was entrusted, that he shortly became the favorite and confidant of his royal master. In the reigns prior to Henry VIII. (and through the greater part of that sovereign's sway, also) there was but one road to the heights of civil preferment: no man was judged capable of administering to the temporal welfare of the people, who was not qualified to watch over their eternal interests. Wyckham accordingly procured an ordination. It was at this juncture, when his fortunes bade fair to rise to the pinnacle of a subject's ambition, that some enemies of Wyckham endeavoured to lower him in the esteem of the king. He had caused an inscription to be placed on the Castle to the following effect: "THIS MADE WYCKHAM." It appears surprising, at the present day, that this action could possibly be represented as arrogant or disrespectful. Such, however, was the case; and the king listened to the invidious insinuations of the whisperers. There is only one way of accounting for the danger to which Wyckham was, in this instance, exposed. In itself, the inscription contained neither more nor less than it is usual for architects to assert, without the charge of presumption; but, in the reign of Edward, a sort of pasquinade was interchanged among all classes through the medium of *mottoes*. Even that adopted by the king, in regard to the knights of the garter, is supposed to have meant much more than is conveyed by the simple words. In this light it must have been, that the inscription, or motto, of the architect, created jealousy and suspicion in Edward's bosom.

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From a mind so liberal as the king's, this ill-impression was soon effaced, and William de Wyckham now ran hastily through a long list of preferments and dignities. His first step was an induction to the rectory of Pulham, in Norfolk. After a variety of intermediate stages, he was raised, in 1366, to the see of Winchester, though not consecrated till the year afterwards, in consequence of some dispute between the king and the pope. His advancement in the state kept pace with his preferment in the church. In 1359, he was constituted chief-warden of the royal castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadlam; in 1363, warden and justiciary of the king's forests on the southern side of the Trent; keeper of the privy-seal in 1364; and, within two years after, secretary to the king. From the testimony of Froissart, he was now in the highest possible favor at court. "At that time," says the historian, "reigned a priest called William de Wican: which William de Wican had ingratiated himself so far in the King of England's favor, that by him all things were done, and without him was nothing done." In 1367, Wyckham was constituted Chancellor of England, which post he enjoyed till 1370-1.

It appears that the cares of the state did not prevent Wyckham's attention to the interests of his diocese. He repaired the palaces and houses belonging to his see, at great expense; he made visitations of the whole diocese; and was peculiarly diligent in establishing discipline and reforming abuses. His zeal in this latter cause is evident from his conduct in regard to the hospital of St. Cross, at Sparkeford, near Winchester. This hospital, once of high notoriety, was founded by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and brother to King Stephen.

By that prelate it was nobly endowed, but the revenues, according to custom, were, in time, embezzled by those to whom their disposal was entrusted. In the redressing of this grievance, Wyckham met with much opposition. The pious delinquents brought the affair before the pope, and a dispute, which lasted more than six years, was the result. Justice at length triumphed, and Wyckham reinstated the hospital in all its privileges. At this period, Wyckham formed the plan of an extensive foundation of his own. He appears to have been much embarrassed as to choice in this particular. He tells us, himself, "how he was obliged to declare, with grief, that he could not any

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where find the ordinances or foundations of charities observed according to their true designs and intention; and this reflection, affecting him greatly, made him almost resolve to distribute his riches to the poor with his own hands. However, he finally determined to establish two colleges for students.*

While he was pursuing this liberal design, he was attacked by a party, the machinations of which threatened to frustrate all his intentions. The imbecility and abstraction of Edward, towards the latter part of his reign, are known to have dimmed the lustre of his former merits. Taking advantage of the monarch's situation, the Duke of Lancaster caused articles of impeachment to be produced against Wyckham, for divers alleged crimes during that prelate's administration of public affairs; and prevailed so far as to persuade the king to seize the temporalities of his see, and to banish him the court. Wyckham's popularity, however, was so great, and the Duke of Lancaster so generally disliked, that a tumult took place in favor of the former, which was encouraged by the clergy, who considered themselves endangered by the liberty taken with the bishop's temporalities. In consequence, Wyckham was restored to the privileges of his see, and was admitted to the king's presence a few days previous to the death of the aged monarch.

Through the unhappy reign of Richard II. Wyckham conducted himself with eminent caution. Disengaged from his former attendance on public affairs, he now applied, with activity, to the great work of founding the two colleges for which he had long been making preparations.

The college at Oxford first received his attention; the king's patent for the building of which is dated June 30, 1379. He published his charter of foundation the 26th of November following, by which he entitled his college "Seinte Marie College, of Wynchestre, in Oxenford."* The building was begun in March following, and finished in April, 1386. In 1387, he began his edifice at Winchester, which he intended as a nursery for the college at Oxford. The statutes of these societies were so judiciously arranged, that when King Henry VI. founded the two colleges of Eton and King's in Cambridge, he adopted Wyckham's statutes, without any material alteration.

* This building is well known to be now termed New College. When first erected it was vulgarly called "The New College," and the students soon adopted the appellation, in contempt of their founder's wish.

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In 1382, Wickliffe's doctrines gained many converts in the university of Oxford. Several persons of the first distinction for learning began to defend them in the schools, and to preach them publicly. The clergy were necessarily alarmed, and Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned several assemblies of the bishop and clergy of the offending diocese. The Bishop of Winchester assisted at each of these assemblies, and was, indeed, the second person of consequence present. No authentic documents state the opinions of De Wyckham, but from the following circumstance we may hope that his character was not stained by an extremity of intolerant bigotry: the chancellor made his submission to the archbishop, and begged pardon with much apparent sincerity for his offence; Courtney rejected his petition; when the Bishop of Winchester strenuously interceded for him, and, with much difficulty, procured his peace.

This illustrious churchman and architect died Sept. 27, 1404, and was buried in his own oratory in the cathedral church of Winchester.

The talents of William de Wyckham appear to have been so various, and his disposition so patriotic and liberal, that he must certainly be accounted one of the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived. As an architect, he may be safely pronounced to have done as much as could be expected from the taste of the period in which he exercised his art. His upright activity and seeming mildness as a churchman are entitled to unmixed praise. It has been asserted, that he was not free from failings, but he assuredly possessed virtues that overbalanced them in a high degree. He has been declared absolutely unlettered by one party, while another has studied to depicture him as a man of classical erudition. The former build their opinion, chiefly, on the speech attributed to him: "If I am not learned myself, I will, at least, be the patron and protector of learning." The latter contend for the probability of his scholastic attainments on account of words to this effect, in the pope's bull for consecrating him Bishop of Winchester: "William de Wyckham being recommended, on the testimony of many persons worthy of credit, for his *knowledge of letters*, probity of life and manners, and his prudence and circumspection," &c.

From the nature of Wyckham's state-employments he certainly must have possessed no contemptible share of lettered intelligence; but from the charac-

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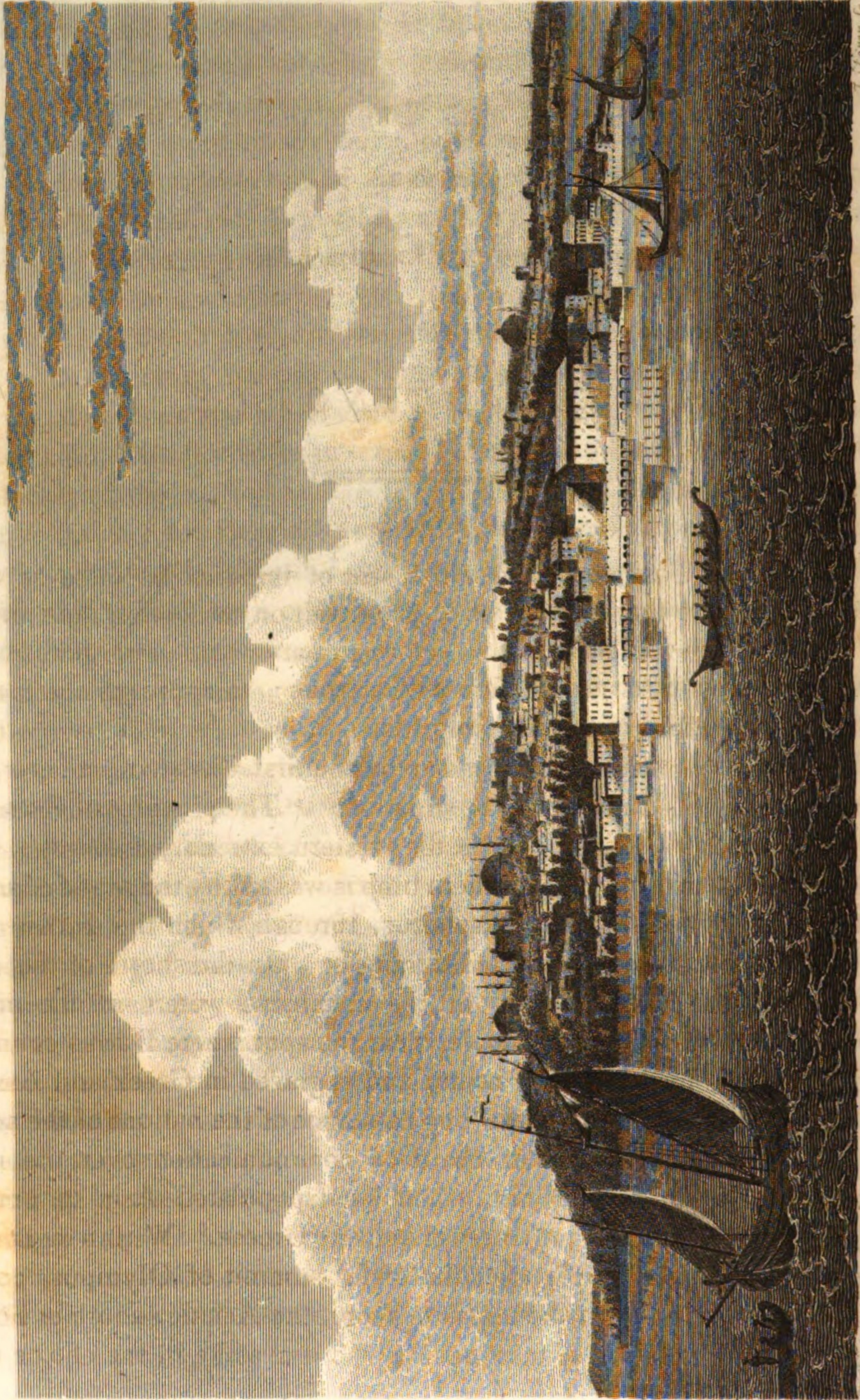
ter of his education, and the tenor of his subsequent pursuits, it is unlikely that he should be deeply versed in the erudition of the schools. The testimony of a pope's bull, when the person to be consecrated was especially recommended by a potent sovereign, is of no very great account.

Sir Reginald Bray was one of the architects engaged in the construction of St. George's Chapel. Sir Reginald was many years in the service of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby. He appears to have been an active friend to the house of Lancaster. He was highly instrumental in advancing Henry VII. to the throne, and was employed in the negociation which terminated in the union of that prince, with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.

In the middle of the south aisle of St. George's, is a chapel, founded by Sir Reginald, who lies there interred. He died in 1502, six years before the completion of the roof of St. George's Chapel. It appears to have been his intention that a tomb should be erected to his memory, but his executors probably thought that the beautiful choir, which is believed to have been designed by him, and to have been principally, if not wholly, executed at his expense, would be his noblest monument.

On preparing a vault for Dr. Waterland, a leaden coffin, of an ancient form, was discovered, which was supposed to be that of Sir Reginald Bray. The grave was immediately arched over, by order of the dean. Sir Reginald's crest occurs several times in the roof of St. George's Chapel.

Dr. Christopher Urswick, Dean of Windsor, was Sir Reginald's coadjutor in the superintendence of the works at St. George's Chapel. Urswick also was a warm partizan of the house of Lancaster, and was employed by Henry VII. in many foreign embassies of moment and delicacy, in all of which he acquitted himself with great credit. He was possessed of so much moderation, that he refused many ecclesiastical honors offered him by Henry, and, in 1505, resigned his deanery at Windsor, and retired to the quiet duties of his parsonage, at Hackney. In this contented seclusion he died, in the year 1521. At the west end of the north aisle in St. George's Chapel, is a building called Urswick's, or the Bread Chapel. On the stone skreen of St. George's is likewise an ancient latin inscription, imploring the reader's intercession with heaven for the dean's eternal welfare, together with that of his sovereign master, Henry VII. Dr. Urswick was buried at Hackney.



THE SERAGLIO

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Architectural and Descriptive View

SERAGLIO

OF

CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE Seraglio of Constantinople is the seat of imperial business as well as pleasure. It is here that the officers of state wait on the nod of their despotic master; and here the ambassadors from foreign nations are permitted, notwithstanding their presumed degradation as Christians, to approach the footstool of the mighty chieftain of the Mussulmans.

The city of Constantinople, founded by the first Christian emperor, possesses almost unrivalled advantages of situation. "The province of Romania," says a writer on Turkish history, "at the western extremity of Europe, terminates in a triangular form; the southern limb is washed by the sea of Marmara, and the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus, through which the Euxine flows with a rapid course towards the Mediterranean. On the shores of this strait, at the distance of four miles from the expansive waters of the ancient Propontis, is situated Constantinople, near the spot where Darius connected the two continents by a bridge of boats, and engraved in Greek and Assyrian letters, on two marble columns, the long catalogue of the nations of the subject world. Xerxes placed a similar chain of communication over the neighbouring straits of the Hellespont, when he depopulated Asia to pour his myriads into the contracted provinces of ancient Greece. Within sight of the battlements of Constantinople rises the awful summit of Olympus, covered with eternal snows; and, on the opposite shore, the Asiatic suburb of Scutari, where stood the Chalcedon of the Greeks, whose mistake in the choice of the

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site of their colony has so often amused the solitary moments of the classic student. If ancient Ilium, and the camp of Greece, beneath the Rhœtean promontory, be not within the view of the spectator, from the pinnacles of the capital to rouse the warring passions, the magnificent ruins of Nicodemia may be discerned from the adjacent heights to diffuse the pacific spirit, in the contemplation of the envied retirement of the virtuous Dioclesian.

The first view of this great city is particularly striking. The eastern, like the western seat of the Roman empire, comprehends seven hills. This elevated position displays the beauties of Constantinople with the greatest possible effect. "The entrance of the Bosphorus," says Mr. Oliver, "the harbour, and suburbs of Gatata, Pera, and St. Dimitri, Scutari, and the verdant hills which lie behind; the Propontis with its islands; farther on, Mount Olympus covered with snow; every where the variegated and fertile fields of Asia and Europe; all this assemblage exhibits different pictures which captivate and astonish. One cannot tire in admiring the natural beauty of the environs of Constantinople, and in reflecting, at the same time, on the happy situation of that great city, whose supply of provisions is so expeditiously obtained, whose defence is so easy, and whose harbour is so safe, so commodious, and so extensive."

Lady Craven (Margravine of Anspach) pays a warm tribute to the exterior charms of the capital of the Ottoman empire.

Notwithstanding its enviable situation, as the emporium of commerce with three continents of the world, Constantinople is not equal, either in extent or population, to the cities of London or Paris. The seat of the Ottoman government is nearly surrounded by high walls, which are turreted, and flanked by large square towers. For these embattled ramparts Constantinople is indebted to the younger Theodosius, who found it necessary to bestow on the capital permanent means of defence against the perpetual hostility of the "barbarians." Many of the square towers which serve for gate-ways are mouldering to dust under the bigoted negligence of the modern Turks. A prey to the enervating doctrines of fatalism, these people sit contentedly down, expecting with frigid indifference the accomplishment of an ancient prophecy, which designates the very tower through which the head of the Russian empire is destined to make a triumphal entry, as Emperor of Greece.

The population of Constantinople may be estimated at about 500,000.

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The streets are so narrow that it is with difficulty a carriage passes through them; but this appears of the less consequence, as visits of ceremony are generally paid on horseback.* As the greater part of the Seraglio is inaccessible to foreigners, and an idea of its internal arrangement can only be formed from a comparative examination of the general character of Turkish buildings, it appears our duty to render the reader, in this place, entirely familiar with the organization of such of the more costly erections in the imperial city as have been deliberately inspected by European travellers. This will be found the more satisfactory in regard to probable conjectures concerning the Seraglio, as a uniformity of architectural style prevails through the whole of the Ottoman empire.

The reader of the more correct travels in Turkey, written upwards of a century ago, would find, on visiting the country, that the lapse of 100 years is not perceptible between the descriptions of the past date and the actual appearance of the country at the present period.

Under so despotic a government as that of the Porte, it is evident that no stability of property can be expected. To this cause, possibly, may be assigned the circumstance of the most magnificent structures in Turkey generally consisting of fragile materials. It assuredly appears unlikely that the man would construct his house of marble, who could form no rational hope of his heir possessing property to preserve the building from decay and dilapidation.†

“Every house, ‡ great and small, is divided into two distinct parts, which only join together by a narrow passage. The first house has a large court before it, and open galleries all round. This gallery leads to the chambers, which are commonly large, and with two rows of windows, the first being of painted glass. They seldom build above two stories, each of which has galleries. The stairs are broad, and do not often consist of more than thirty steps. This is the house belonging to the lord; the adjoining one is called

* So generally is the idea of dignity associated with the riding on horseback, that Lady Craven says, “she saw a Turk who landed from a boat, and had a fine grey horse led by four men, that went a long way round, which he mounted gravely, to get off in a few moments.”

† Every house, at the death of its master, is at the disposal of the Grand Signior.

‡ See Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

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the Harem, or ladies' apartment. The latter has also a gallery running round it, towards the garden, to which all the windows are turned, and the same number of chambers as the other, but more gay and splendid both in painting and furniture. The second row of windows is very low, with grates like those of convents. The rooms are all spread with Persian carpets, and raised at one end about two feet. This is the sofa, which is laid with a richer sort of carpet, and all round it is a sort of couch, raised half a foot, covered with rich silk, according to the fancy or magnificence of the owner. Round the sofa are placed, standing against the wall, two rows of cushions, the first very large, the next smaller: and here the Turks display their greatest magnificence. The cushions are generally brocade, or embroidery of gold wire upon white satin. The rooms are low, and the ceiling is always of wood, generally inlaid, or painted with flowers. They open in many places with folding doors. Between the windows are little arches to set the pots of perfume, or baskets of flowers. Marble fountains are placed in the lower part of the room, which throw up several spouts of water. Each house has a bagnio, which consists generally of two or three little rooms, leaded on the top, paved with marble and provided with basins, cocks of water, and all conveniences for either hot or cold baths. The women's apartments have no other prospects than the gardens, which are enclosed with very high walls. There are no European parterres in them; but they are planted with high trees, which give an agreeable shade and a pleasing view. In the midst of the garden is the chiosk, a large room commonly beautified with a fine fountain in the midst of it. It is raised nine or ten steps, and enclosed with gilded lattices, round which vines, jessamines, and honeysuckles make a sort of green wall. Large trees are planted round this place, which is the scene of their greatest pleasures, and where the ladies spend most of their hours, employed by their music or embroidery."

Lady Montagu next proceeds to describe the deserted palace of a grand-vizier, and also their mosques; of the latter she observes—"The dome of St. Sophia is said to be 113 feet diameter, built upon arches sustained by vast pillars of marble: the pavement and staircase are likewise of marble. There are two rows of galleries supported with pillars of party-coloured marble, and the whole roof is of mosaic work.

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The mosque of the Sultan Solyman is an exact square, with four fine towers in the angles; in the midst is a noble cupola, supported with beautiful marble pillars; the pavement and gallery round the mosque are of marble; under the great cupola is a fountain adorned with such fine coloured pillars that the spectator can scarcely believe them natural marble. On one side is the pulpit of white marble, and on the other the little gallery for the Grand Signior. A fine staircase leads to the latter, and it is ornamented with gilded lattices. At the upper end is a sort of altar, where the name of God is written, and before it stand two candlesticks, the height of the human figure, bearing wax candles. The pavement is spread with fine carpets, and the mosque illuminated with a vast number of lamps. The court leading to this mosque is very spacious, with galleries of marble, covered with twenty-eight leaded cupolas on two sides, and a fountain of basins in the midst of it."

Having premised thus much concerning the general character of sacred and domestic buildings in Turkey, we will now proceed to an account of the Seraglio, and of those parts of the Emperor's splendid establishment which are not totally secluded from the researches of christian curiosity.

The Seraglio,* as may be perceived by the plate attached to this article, is situated on a point of land running into the sea. This point constitutes the eastern promontory of the city, and was formerly called Chrysoceras. The palace and gardens are supposed to cover about 150 English acres. From what has been already said, little exterior regularity of design is to be expected. The architects of Turkey would seem, in general, to study an exclusion of all outward appearance of grandeur. Shrinking from the notice of despotism, the nobles sedulously construct their palaces devoid of ostentatious architectural magnificence. Their jealous apprehensions of female levity also assist in imparting a gloomy air to the chief front of their buildings.

The frequent windows necessary to a lightness of architectural effect might afford opportunities of temptation to secluded females with hearts alive to gaiety, and passions eager through restraint. From these conjoined causes has arisen the custom of placing the most attractive features of the edifice towards the inner gardens. So prevalent has long been this mode among the

* The term Seraglio is derived from the Turkish word *serai*, which originally signified a house, and afterwards a palace, when permanent dwellings became more common.

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nobles of the Ottoman court, that the architects employed in the designing of the Seraglio adopted the discouraging practice, though it must have been, in part, unnecessary in regard to the potent monarch for whom they were constructing a residence.

The Seraglio has been erected at different times, and consists of various domes and pavilions scattered through the extensive gardens, with little attention to symmetry or order. It has been said to contain "six large courts, all built round, and set with trees, having galleries of stone; one of these for the guard, another for the slaves, another for the officers of the kitchen, another for the stables, the fifth for the divan, and the sixth for the apartment destined for the audiences." On the ladies' side, the same account describes at least as many more divisions, with distinct courts belonging to the eunuchs and attendants, the officers of the kitchens, &c. But a distant view (the only prospect attainable) does not warrant our supposing that the palace has received the advantage of so systematic an arrangement. The various edifices are surmounted by pinnacles covered with gilded lead, and on the imperial mosques the emperors have lavished their wealth, at the suggestion of piety or for the gratification of pride. The principal entrance to the palace is of the most costly marble, and from its magnificence the government has obtained the appellation of the sublime Porte.

In all probability the numerous buildings of the Seraglio are rather gaudy than beautiful; yet their irregularity is not to be imputed to want of skill in the Turkish architects, who have evinced considerable native talent in the construction of public buildings, where oppression did not interfere with the disposal of property.

The different princes to whom the Seraglio is indebted for its splendour had little inclination to erect a permanent monument of national art. Immediate gratification was the only object studied; so the cupola glittered with leaf gold, and the pavilion was adapted to the use of the moment, the caliph was indifferent to the violation of every rule in architecture, and the utter destruction of all harmony of effect. Much correctness of judgment, indeed, should not be expected from that government which uses the Athenian temple of Minerva as a magazine for powder, and has suffered the chief pillars of the temple of Theseus to be destroyed for the purpose of making lime.

The ladies' part of the Seraglio occupies a very considerable space. This

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division of the building is termed the Harem,* and for the security of the fair captives, there immolated, a strong wall is erected round the Seraglio. To diminish the horror with which the view of such an oppressive barrier must necessarily strike the hopeless inmates of the harem, cypresses, pines, and plane-trees are planted, which surmount the chill boundary of the imperial prison, and cheat the mind into some resemblance of repose and confidence.

The secrecy with which every thing is conducted within the walls of the Ottoman palace; the awful distance† that every person unconnected with the establishment is obliged to preserve; the known riches of the despotic caliph, and boundless treasure of female loveliness subject to his capricious sway; these unite with various other inducements to stimulate, to the extreme, curiosity respecting the probable interior of the varied building.

Debarred as we are, in common with other inquirers, from credible intelligence on the subject, it is by analogy alone that we can presume to state rational conjectures as to the recesses of the harem. Considering, however, the uniformity of manners that exists throughout the Ottoman empire, analogy may perhaps bear us out in our suppositions, more satisfactorily than at first is apprehended. The manners of the Turks, in regard to their connexions with the sex, emanate, as is known, from the legislative opinions contained in the Koran. Though the sultan evidently assumes some privileges unknown to his subjects, the same religious laws compel, in most instances, the adoption of similar customs by both. The number of females retained for the ostentatious splendour of the sovereign, appears the chief particular in which his household differs from that of the great officers of state. Thus, since we are enabled to describe the exact manner prevalent in the harems of the most distinguished subjects, the reader may safely, by enlarging the system, and adding some peculiarities to be stated hereafter, form an idea of the probable appearance of the inviolable parts of the monarch's residence.

* The word *Harem* signifies literally *the forbidden*. In Turkey the women's apartment is invariably so termed. This apartment every man, except the master of the house, is solemnly interdicted from entering.

† To penetrate the harem is death. Ambassadors from the most formidable powers are admitted no farther than the audience-chamber; and females once imprisoned within the imperial turrets are seldom suffered to return to general society, even at the decease of the tyrant to whose wishes they were subservient.

The ladies' part of the Seraglio occupies a very considerable space.

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Of the different servile officers dependant on the person of the emperor, we have the power of giving a more correct and circumstantial account.

The chief of the black eunuchs* is called *Kislar-aga*, and one of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. His two chief duties appear somewhat incongruous in their nature: he is the immediate ambassador between the sultan and the concubine whom he may please to favor with his approbation, and what is very remarkable, he has the superintendence of all the imperial mosques! a union of such important offices must needs render a man of great account in the empire. The *kislar-aga* consequently ranks before the chief of the white eunuchs, and enjoys (as may be supposed from such a combination of opportunities) a very considerable income.

The second eunuch of the Seraglio is termed the *Khama-vekili*. He replaces the *Kislar-aga* in case of dismissal or death. This officer has the general administration of the interior imperial treasure, which is distinct from the private treasure of the Grand Signior administered by the *Khasnadar-aga*, a confidant page. There are some other eunuchs of power and dignity. Of these one belong to the queen-mother, a second is entrusted with the care of the princes, and a third has the superintendence of the apartment of the *Hassekee*.

The white eunuchs are not permitted to approach the women. They have the charge of the gates of the Seraglio, and superintend and instruct the pages. Their chief is called *Capou-agassi*.

In the chief street of the Pera* is built a considerable palace, in which a number of boys, destined to be pages to the sultan, are maintained at the expense of the state. These are termed *Ichoglans*, and preceptors attend

* A late writer observes, "that the word eunuch does not necessarily imply the privation we usually understand by that term. Eunuchs, in sacred writ, are described as having wives. They have not been all deficient in understanding: Hernias, who was of this description, was highly respected by Aristotle. Eunuchs are remarked to be eminent for their fidelity. Herodotus, in his eighth book, notices their pre-eminence in this virtue, and a few distinguished instances occur in ancient history, of their valour and skill in military tactics. The great stand made at Gaza against Alexander of Macedon, was under the command of a general who was an eunuch in the court of Darius,—and, in the latter ages of the Roman state, the eunuch Narses was a general officer of her formidable legions."

† The suburbs of Constantinople are so entitled.

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them daily, for the purpose of teaching the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages; the art of writing, and a due familiarity with the precepts of the Koran. A great number of these boys are likewise brought up in the interior of the Seraglio, where their education is committed to the care of the white eunuchs. They are clothed in white, and fed with cautious temperance. They are generally the sons of christians taken in war, or purchased in Georgia and Circassia. When the christian captives are not sufficiently numerous, the sons of mussulmans are admitted to this order of slaves.

The less promising of the youthful captives are condemned to the meaner employments of the Seraglio. They become porters, cooks, wood-cutters, or water-carriers. The sons of mussulmans are seldom consigned to these menial departments.

The gardeners (*bostanquees*) of the Seraglio amount to the number of 10,000. Their chief is called *Bostanquee-bachi*, and is possessed of extensive authority. He has an absolute command over all the palaces and gardens of the Grand Signior, and is at the head of the police of the environs of the capital. It is his office to steer the caïque of the Grand Signior when he goes on the water, and to attend him on horseback when he makes a journey of state.

The *bostanquees* are generally sons of mussulmans, and are almost all married. They row the caïques of the sultan, they superintend his gardens and palaces, and form a sort of police for the regulating of the neighbourhood.

It is a rule in oriental manners, that no conference, however secret, shall be maintained without the presence of slaves or servants. To obviate the inconvenience arising from this practice, the Turks are in the habit of being waited on by the deaf and dumb, when engaged in any meeting that demands privacy. The sultan usually possesses forty deaf and dumb persons, who attend him in conjunction with his pages. Indeed dwarfs are considered appendages to the dignity of the Grand Signior; and, if deaf and dumb, are deemed invaluable, though the jealousy of the sultan sometimes forbids even these an entrance.

The number of females maintained in the harem of the Grand Signior is very considerable. The Emperor Achmet is said to have been contented with 300; but one monarch is described as possessing 2,000, and another retained 1,600.

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The laws of the Koran are well known to allow four legitimate wives.* They also authorize a mussulman taking as many concubines as his property will enable him to maintain. The Grand Signior is too far elevated above the bulk of mankind to submit to the shackles of matrimony in common with his subjects. The head of the Ottoman empire possesses infinitely too much grandeur to need those tender delicacies which spring from such a union of the sexes as restrains alike the mind and person in a silken bondage.

Among all the bands of beautiful slaves which crowd the harem of the Seraglio, seven only "after having enjoyed more or less the favor of the sultan, are raised to a rank above the others; they become his favorites; it is they who participate most commonly in his pleasures, and who, sometimes, acquire no small degree of influence over foreign affairs." These elect beauties are distinguished by the name of *kadeun*. "The slave who becomes the mother of a boy is called *hassekee*; she has a house and slaves, she obtains a distinguished rank, she is treated with the greatest respect, she enjoys a sort of liberty in the interior of the harem; in a word, she approaches the sultan as often as she wishes. But if her son happen to die she returns among the *kadeuns*, if she be not sent to the old Seraglio.

The other slaves are called *odalisks*, from the word *oda*, which signifies chamber. If one of them be pregnant she is treated with a great deal of attention; the eunuchs serve her with the greatest respect when the sultan has as yet no male children; she finds herself, on the contrary, in a very critical situation when he has any by a slave in favor. She is fortunate then, if she escape by miscarrying, or seeing the being that she has just brought into the world smothered at its birth. For one of these odalisks to become *kadeun*, an honor extremely in request and ardently wished for by all, it is necessary that the Grand Signior should send one of the seven favorites to the old Seraglio, the place of exile for his women who have misbehaved or have had the misfortune to displease.

* The manners of most countries assimilate more nearly than we at first apprehend. Though Mahomet politically granted this indulgence to his followers, it is a privilege that virtually operates in but small degree on the order of social life. Almost every woman on her nuptials requires an obligatory promise from the husband, which prevents his marrying another during her life, or as long as she shall not have been separated by a divorce.

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* To the old Seraglio* are generally sent all the wives of the sultan who has just died or been deposed; they are there fed and maintained with some luxury, and served with much attention, but they can no longer go out of this place of retirement. There is only the mother of the new sultan, called *Validai-Sultana*, who has her liberty, a palace, and revenues. The new harem is soon replenished, because traders come from all quarters to offer young slaves, and the pachas and the great are eager to present beauties capable of fixing the attention of the sovereign; they hope by that means to obtain instantly his good graces, and place about his person women who may one day be useful to them.

The harem is chiefly supplied with Georgian, Circassian, and Ethiopian slaves. The most intelligent travellers describe these as possessing European features. In general they are fair with dark hair, but the hair of some is of a flaxen or light brown colour. They commonly acquire, through indolence and luxurious habits, an embonpoint agreeable to the Turks but not consonant to the true symmetry of beauty. The inhabitants of Turkey usually prefer fair women with dark hair, and those with light brown to the flaxen. Their attachment to the embonpoint is so great, that a slender Grecian form, with taper elastic limbs, would be regarded with perfect indifference. It need scarcely be added that, with the great mass of the Turkish nation, the complexion of the female mind is entirely out of the question. †

Slaves are openly exposed for sale in the markets of Constantinople. There are to be seen such as are stolen from Georgia and Circassia, such as are purchased in those countries, and such as are voluntarily offered in exchange for gold by their wretched parents. Thus, not only parental feelings but religious prejudices are overcome by that potent talisman which "plucks the pillow from under good men's heads." The persons who thus devote their offspring are conscious that they will be brought up under a different form of religion.

* Eski Serai: the building was constructed by Mahomet II.

† The common opinion, that the Koran maintains women not to possess souls, is a mistake. Mahomet contended that the souls of women were not of so elevated a kind as those of men, and therefore must not hope to be admitted into the same Paradise. But he specifies a certain district of the celestial regions calculated for souls of an inferior order, in which all good women might hope to find a place.

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but this is of little moment: M. Olivier informs us "that the christian priests of the country endure and permit this infamous traffic, for a few prayers and *some alms*; so true it is, according to them, that *there is a way of accommodating matters with heaven.*"

The price of these slaves, according to the writer just quoted, "varies like that of all other merchandize, and is regulated according to their number, and that of their purchasers. They commonly cost from 500 to 1000 piasters. But a female slave of a rare beauty amounts to an excessive price, without there being a necessity for exposing her to sale, * because most of the rich men are always ready to make pecuniary sacrifices to obtain such, in order to present them to their protectors."

The arrangement of a slave-market is thus described by M. Olivier. "No one is suffered to enter the bazaar where women are exposed to sale, but mussulmans, who present themselves to purchase them. Europeans cannot be introduced there without a firman of the sultan, which is granted only to the ambassadors and agents of foreign powers when they are on the eve of quitting the Ottoman empire. With pleasure we availed ourselves of the firman obtained by the French agent, and entered the market for slaves. But whether the traders, apprized of our arrival, had made them retire, or whether this was not the season when they are most numerous, we found few slaves in the bazaar, and among those that we saw the greater part were veiled, and shut up in their rooms, so that we could not see them but for a moment through a window which was by the side of the door.

"We stopped to contemplate three of them who struck us by their beauty, and the tears which they shed. They were tall, well-made, and scarcely fifteen years of age. One of them, with her head and left arm resting against the wall, vented sobs which wrung us to the heart. Nothing could divert her from her profound grief; her companions, leaning the one against the other, were holding each other by the hand while we surveyed them. They cast on us looks which doubtless expressed their regret at having lost their liberty, at

* Lady Montagu says, "those that are exposed to sale at the markets are always either guilty of some crime, or so entirely worthless that they are of no use at all." The utmost extent of slavery is fixed by Mahomet at nine years.

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being torn from the arms of a too-cruel father and mother; at having been separated, perhaps, from those with whom love and Hymen were to unite their fate.

“The traders, imbued with ridiculous prejudices, fear the mischievous looks of christians and Europeans. A woman cannot be seen by them without being depreciated, without running the risk of being affected by their malignant influence. Besides, these female slaves (still christians) may, according to these traders, fall suddenly in love with a man of their own religion, and attempt to make their escape. They likewise fear that the too great affliction into which the slaves are plunged by every thing that recalls to their mind recollections extremely dear, may occasion them to fall sick, or bring on a melancholy that may affect their health.

“The building has nothing remarkable, and does not correspond with the beauties of the caravansaries, which it resembles in point of form and construction, nor with that of most of the bazaars of the capital. You see a suite of small naked chambers, which receive the light only by a door, and a little grated window placed on one side. It is into one of these rooms that the unfortunate creatures who belong to the same trader are crowded. There it is that each waits till fate throws her into the hands of a man, young or old, mild or passionate, good or bad, in order that she may become his wife, or his concubine, or wait on the women of his harem.”

Respecting the interior splendour of the Grand Signior's harem, inevitably the object of much curiosity, we have said a probable conjecture can be formed from comparison only. At Adrianople Lady M. W. Montagu visited the harem of the Kiyàya's* lady. She was met at the door by two black eunuchs and by them led through a long gallery, between two ranks of beautiful young girls, who were dressed in fine light damasks, brocaded with silver, their hair, which was finely plaited, almost hanging to their feet. Quitting the gallery, she entered a large room or pavilion “built round” with gilded sashes, the greater number of which were thrown up, while over-hanging trees imparted an agreeable shade. Round the trunk of each tree grew jessamines and honeysuckles, which shed a soft perfume. A white marble fountain,

* The lieutenant, or deputy, to the Grand Vizier.

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placed in the lower part of the room, played sweet water that fell into three or four basins, with a pleasing sound. The roof was painted with various flowers, which seemed to fall, in luxurious plenty, from gilded baskets. On a sofa raised three steps, and covered with fine Persian carpets, reclined the Kiyàya's lady, supported by cushions of embroidered satin. At her feet sat her two youthful daughters, their dresses almost covered with jewels. The lovely Fatima stood up to receive her visitor, and saluted her after the Turkish fashion, putting her hand to her heart, and bowing with a sweetness full of majesty. She directed cushions to be given to Lady Montagu, and took care to place her in the corner, the Turkish seat of honor.

The beauty of this attractive personage Lady Mary describes in high terms, and thus notices her attire. "She was dressed in a caftan of gold brocade, flowered with silver, very well fitted to her shape, and showing to great advantage the perfections of her bosom. Her drawers were pale pink, her waistcoat green and silver, her slippers white satin finely embroidered. Her arms were adorned with bracelets of diamonds, and her broad girdle was set round with diamonds. Upon her head was a rich Turkish kerchief of pink and silver, her own fine black hair hung a great length, in various tresses; and on one side of her head were seen some bodkins of jewels."

The fair maids of the Turkish beauty, to the number of twenty, were ranged below the sofa, and brought to mind the pictures of the ancient nymphs. She made them a sign to play and dance. Four of them immediately began to play some soft airs on instruments between a lute and a guitar, * which they accompanied with their voices, while the others danced to the most voluptuous figures.

When the dance was over, four fair slaves approached, with silver censers.

* Lady Craven says, "the lyre of the ancients is often to be seen in the hands of the Greeks, but I suppose in ancient days, as in these, whatever harmony possessed their souls it affected only their eyes. From the lyre, or from any miserable fiddle or guitar they touch, they only elicit the most abominable discordant sounds, that accompany a kind of bawling which they fancy is singing. Indeed, music is a thing of which Turks and Greeks have not the least idea."

On the contrary, Lady Montagu affirms, that those who attribute a want of musical talent to the Turks "have never heard any but what is played in the streets, and act just as reasonably as a foreigner would who should take his ideas of English music from the bladder and string, or the marrow-bones and cleavers."

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and perfumed the air with amber and aloes-wood. They then, on their knees, presented coffee in the finest Japan china, with soucoups of silver gilt. When Lady Montagu was about to take leave, two maids brought a number of embroidered kerchiefs in a silver basket, and Fatima begged that she would wear the richest for her sake.

When at Constantinople, Lady Mary Wortley again visited the harem of Fatima, who had removed thither. The splendour of the former habitation was now found to be comparatively trivial, as it had originally surprised the visitor. The winter apartment of the fair Fatima's present residence was wainscoted with mother-of-pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive-wood. The rooms designed for summer were "crusted" with Japan china, the roofs gilt, and the floors spread with the finest Persian carpets. Fatima met Lady Mary at the door, "You christian ladies," said she, with an attractive smile, "have the reputation of inconstancy, and I did not expect, whatever goodness you expressed for me at Adrianople, that I should ever see you again. But I am now convinced that I have really the happiness of pleasing you, and if you knew how I speak of you amongst our ladies, you would be assured that you do me justice in making me your friend." She placed her illustrious visitor in the corner of the sofa, and the afternoon was devoted to conversation. Lady Montagu describes Fatima as possessing all the politeness and good breeding of a court, joined to an air that inspired at once respect and confidence. She was very curious concerning the manners of other countries, and was not less eminent in wit than in beauty.

The most interesting of Lady Montagu's Turkish visits was that paid to the Sultana Hafiten, who had been favorite to the emperor Mustapha. This caliph was deposed by his brother, and died a few weeks after, from the effect, as was generally believed, of poison. The favorite was, immediately subsequent to his death, ordered to leave the Seraglio, and choose herself a husband from among the great men at the Porte. As this was the greatest possible indignity, she threw herself at the Sultan's feet, and begged him to poignard her rather than use his brother's widow with that contempt. She represented to him, in agonies of sorrow, that she was privileged from this misfortune by having brought five princes into the Ottoman family. But all the boys being dead, and only one girl surviving, this excuse was not received,

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and she was compelled to make her choice. She named Bekir Effendi, then secretary-of-state, and above fourscore years old, to convince the world that she firmly intended to keep the vow which she had made, of never suffering a second husband to approach her bed: and, since she must honor some subject so far as to be called his wife, she chose Bekir Effendi as a mark of her gratitude, since it was he that had presented her, at the age of ten years, to her last lord. But she never permitted him to pay her one visit, though it was then fifteen years since she had been in his house, where she past her time in uninterrupted mourning. She had no black eunuchs for her guard, her husband being obliged to respect her as a queen, and not inquire at all into what was done in her apartment.

On visiting this once-potent favorite, Lady Montagu was led into a large room "with a sofa the whole length of it, adorned with white marble pillars, covered with pale blue figured velvet on a silver ground, with cushions of the same," where she was desired to repose till the sultana appeared, who had contrived this manner of reception to avoid rising on the entrance of her visitor. When the sultana approached, Lady Mary rose, and the sultana deigned to make an inclination of the head. Her beauty was not striking, though she had evidently the remains of a fine face. Her apparel was magnificent to the extreme. She wore a vest called *donalmá*. It was of purple cloth made to fit her shape, and thickly set on each side down to her feet, and round the sleeves, with large and exquisite pearls which acted as buttons. Attached to these costly buttons were seen loops of diamonds. The habit was tied at the waist with two large tassels of smaller pearls, and was embroidered round the arms with large diamonds. Her girdle, in breadth equal to the broadest English riband, was entirely covered with diamonds of the best water. Round her neck she wore three chains, which reached to her knees: one was composed of pearl, at the bottom of which hung a fine emerald as large as the egg of a turkey; another consisted of 200 emeralds closely joined together, of the most lively green, and perfectly matched. These emeralds were extremely large; those which formed the third chain were smaller but not less beautiful. The ear-rings of the sultana surpassed in splendour all her other decorations. They were two diamonds, "shaped exactly like pears, and as large as a big hazle-nut." Four strings of pearl surrounded her *kalpác*. They were fast-

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ened with two roses, consisting of a large ruby for the middle stone, and twenty drops of clear diamonds. Her head-dress was covered with bodkins of diamonds and emeralds. She wore large diamond-bracelets, and had five costly rings on her fingers.

The reader will readily agree with Lady Montagu that, "according to the common estimation of diamonds in our part of the world, this whole dress must be worth £100,000 sterling." The glitter must, indeed, have been prodigious; and it appears probable, that few European queens could rival, with their whole collection, the jewels displayed by the eastern beauty in this single habit.

Lady Mary Wortley dined with the sultana. The dinner consisted of fifty dishes, served, according to the Turkish custom, one at a time. The magnificence of the table, in some measure, atoned for the fatiguing formality of the entertainment. The knives were of gold, and the hafts set with diamonds. The table-cloth and napkins were of tiffany, embroidered, in the finest manner, with flowers of silk and gold. Few circumstances can more forcibly impress an idea of the luxury of the Seraglio: this table-service, so delicately wrought, must have employed many a laborious artist through a number of weary hours; the expense must have been great; yet, of course, the whole was spoiled by one customary repast of the sultana.

Sherbet was served in bowls of china, the covers and salvers of which were of massy gold. After dinner, water was brought in gold basins; the napkins were of tiffany, embroidered with flowers, in resemblance of those used during the time of eating. Coffee was served in china, with golden *soucups*.*

Lady Montagu did not fail to profit by the affability of the sultana in regard to information concerning the Seraglio. The sultana assured her ladyship, that the story of the sultan *throwing a handkerchief* is altogether fabulous. On making his election he sends the *Kislar-agar* to signify to the lady the "honor he intends her. She is immediately complimented upon it by the others, and led to the bath, where she is perfumed, and dressed in the most magnificent and becoming manner. The emperor precedes his visit by a royal present. Sometimes, the sultan diverts himself in the company of all his ladies, who stand in a circle round him."

* Saucers.

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The sultana never mentioned the deceased caliph without tears, yet she frequently talked respecting his memory. "My past happiness," said she, "appears a dream to me. Yet I cannot forget that I was beloved by the greatest and most lovely of mankind. I was chosen from the rest to make all his campaigns with him, and I would not survive him if I was not passionately fond of the princess, my daughter. Yet all my tenderness for her was hardly enough to make me preserve my life. When I left him I passed a whole twelvemonth without seeing the light. Time hath softened my despair, yet I now pass some days every week in tears devoted to his memory."

She asked Lady Montagu to walk in the gardens, and one of her slaves immediately brought her a *pelisse* of rich brocade, lined with sables. The gardens contained little that was worthy of notice except the fountains. Lady Montagu visited every apartment of the harem. The sultana's toilet was displayed in her bed-chamber. It consisted of two looking-glasses, the frames of which were covered with pearls. Her *night-talpoche*,* set with bodkins of jewels, and three vests of fine sables, were thrown negligently over a sofa.

Before Lady Mary departed, she was complimented with perfumes, and presented with a fine embroidered handkerchief. The sultana was waited on by thirty slaves. In addition to these, she possessed ten little tributary attendants, the eldest of which was not more than seven years old. These were the most beautiful girls† that the imagination can picture, and were much valued by the sultana. They wore little garlands of flowers entwined in their own braided hair. Their habits were of golden stuffs. These cherub-like servitors presented the sultana, on their knees, with water, coffee, or perfumes.

The demeanor of the sultana, during the whole of Lady Montagu's visit, was perfectly frank and urbane, but her manners plainly showed that the greater part of her life had been spent in a seclusion from the world.

At the village of Tchiorlú our traveller was enabled to inspect a conac or small Seraglio, built for the use of the Emperor when he journeys that way. The apartments of the ladies were in the midst of a thick grove of trees, made fresh by fountains. The walls were almost covered with little distiches of Turkish verse, written with pencils. One of them might be translated thus:

* The *talpoche* is merely a change of dress. It may be recollected, that the Turks do not undress themselves of a night. Even during sickness they retain their customary habits.

† A handsome child of six or seven years of age was then worth £100 sterling.

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'We come into this world, we lodge, and we depart;
He never goes that's lodged within my heart.'

From this catalogue of splendid habiliments and sumptuous rooms we may form some conception of the prodigious magnificence familiar to the ladies of the Emperor's harem. As far as pearls, diamonds, brocades, and perfumes, are enabled to impart pleasure, they must be the happiest of womankind; but a long list of oppressive difficulties counterbalances all the charms of dress and all the refinements of luxury.

Most of their hours, not "honoured" with the presence of the sultan, are probably passed in the bagnio, at the toilet, or over the games of chess and draughts. In the summer, it is true, luxurious gardens tempt them to ramble from walk to walk in vapid conversation; but here every swelling petal brings to mind those enchanting overtures of tenderness from which they are for ever estranged.

The fate of the sultan's females is certainly more pitiable than that of the slaves sold to Turks of inferior rank. On their unavoidable emancipation, these latter may become the wives of their masters, and enjoy most of the privileges usual with their sex. From every hope of domestic comfort, the captives of the Seraglio are inevitably excluded. All is useless glitter and tasteless festivity.

In being denied the opportunities usual with females in Turkey, these ill-fated beauties are, probably, debarred from more freedom and power than are possessed by women of most other countries. It is true that a rigorous division of the sexes, in respect to the common forms of life, prevails in the Ottoman empire; but still, the prerogatives of the females are extensive and valuable.

No difference of rank operates to the disadvantage of women in Turkey. Merit has its fair chance of reward. In other countries, beauty, united with poverty, is destructive to the possessor. In Turkey, this discordant union suggests none but the most honorable ideas in the beholder's mind.

The wife's portion is entirely in her own possession. The ascendancy gained by this circumstance renders the majority of Turkish women superior to the capricious jurisdiction of the husband.

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The husband is poor indeed who does not maintain a slave to wait on his wife; in general, the mussulman women are attended by several servants. The beauty of these is by no means dangerous to the mistress. The husband is strictly forbidden to require any thing from the slaves that belong to his wife. It very rarely happens that he violates this prohibition, since he is conscious that the injured party would immediately prefer a complaint, and cause him to be punished.

The women of Constantinople possess a very considerable influence over public affairs. In their respective harems the whole politics of the town and provinces pass under review. It is here that agents are nominated, the punishments due to treason arranged, or plots and conspiracies of the greatest import secretly framed. Women of every age and rank attend the harem of a court-favorite's lady, to solicit favors and appointments for their husbands or relations. "An affair," according to Olivier, "often passes through the channel of several women before it arrives at its destination: an emancipated female slave, or woman of the lowest class of the people, sometimes obtains, through her patronesses, such an interest, that her protection is sought after from all quarters. The mussulman women support each other, and are always ready to make a common cause. They are implacable in their resentment, and seldom fail to revenge themselves for an outrage or an offence at all serious. Their influence is increased by that which a favorite slave, or the *sultana-validai*, generally obtains over the reigning sultan."

The different baths form places of public assembly for every order of Turkish women. Here persons of rank concert appointments for future festivity, and canvass the daily occurrences in the world of fashion. They are served, by select attendants, with genuine Mocha, and the most costly restoratives. Essences and perfumes are scattered with a tasteful liberality. The meeting is frequently terminated by dances, music, and the *Ombres Chinoises*.

The lower classes meanwhile enjoy, with less ostentation, but, possibly, with more zest, common coffee, common sherbet, and the grateful fumes of tobacco.

The wife of a certain rank, when very young, goes, it is true, but little from home. The law exempts her from attending the mosque, and the customs

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which restrain her from often quitting her house, have arisen from the supposition of an infant family demanding the continual presence of the mother. It is possible, that many an infant, in more polished countries, may have cause to wish, in regard to this particular, that his mother were a native of Turkey.

The disguise in which women are accustomed to walk the streets, confounds the appearance of all, and renders nugatory the most minute jealousy of observation. They wear two pieces of dress, termed *murlins*; one covers the whole of the face, except the eyes; the other hides the remaining part of the attire of both head and shoulders.

Their shapes are totally concealed by a third species of coverlet, which wraps them entirely round, and has straight sleeves that descend to the fingers' ends. In winter these garments are of cloth, and in summer of silk; but as they are all of the same colour, and the traces of natural shape are entirely obliterated by them, it is impossible to distinguish the lady of a pacha from the slave who waits on her.

There certainly exist many impediments to the rational ardour of social intercourse; but with all these privileges, and many not enumerated, surely the women of Turkey enjoy more essential freedom than those of other countries. When Constantinople, and the harem of the grand signior, are the subjects of discussion, the name of Lady M. W. Montagu necessarily occurs; we shall, therefore, close our notice of the Seraglio with some brief observations on this lady's character and genius.

Lady Montagu is the eldest daughter of Evelyn, Duke of Kingston. As Lady Mary Pierrepont she was little known to the great world; but the seclusion in which she principally resided, during her youth, laid the foundation of those accomplishments which render her name valuable to the records of British literature. Lady Mary appears to have experienced considerable severity from her father. "The two first tomes of *Clarissa*," she observes, "touched me, as being very resembling to my maiden days; and I find, in the pictures of Sir Thomas Grandison and his lady, what I have heard of my mother and seen of my father." In this respect, the subject of our remarks was in a similar situation with her rival in classical attainments, Lady Jane Grey.

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The temper of the period might be in fault, but it is well known, that Lady Jane became an affected pedant. Lady Montagu lived in happier days, and her learning sat easily on her habit, and was ever considered as subordinate to those active duties * which are the most honorable pursuits of her sex.

Her choice of a companion for life is worthy of observation, as being illustrative of her strength of understanding. Lady Mary was a woman of wit, and that dangerous quality is well-known, too generally, to paralyse most other faculties of the possessor's mind. It was quite otherwise with her ladyship. Her attachment to Mr. Wortley was ardent and undeviating, yet he boasted few of those qualifications which usually catch the eye of self-conceit and youthful vivacity. Cool discrimination and solid fore-thought were the characteristics of his mind. Surely it was no common occurrence, for a woman of wit to prefer a man of sound judgment!

Mr. Wortley sat in parliament, at different periods, for the cities of Westminster and Peterborough, and the boroughs of Huntingdon and Bossiney. After various *patriotic* exertions, during the reign of Queen Anne, Mr. Wortley succeeded in gaining the friendly notice of King George I. His relation, Charles Montagu, was created Earl of Halifax by the new sovereign, and Mr. Wortley was received into the confidence of the administration. On this advancement of her husband, Lady Mary quitted the retirement in which she had hitherto lived at Warncliffe, and made her appearance at St. James's. It was now that her beauty was first known to the world, and that her wit was discovered to be equal to her perfections of person. Addison and Steele were the customary visitants of Mr. Wortley. Pope was chiefly sedulous to pay his devoirs to herself. Effeminate love seems to have been the fatality of Pope's disposition. His letters to Lady Montagu are laboured, enthusiastic, and as distinctly declarative of fervid tenderness, as letters possibly can be. But Pope certainly considered himself privileged to make love, with impunity, to any female that suited his taste.

* Lord Hervey, in the strongest terms of reproach, blames her ladyship's peculiar attachment to her infant offspring. "Nature," writes his lordship, "never designed you to perform the office of a nursery-maid."

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The abrupt termination that often occurs to connections between literary characters, affords subject of regret rather than of surprise. The editor of her letters wishes to attribute the breach that took place between Lady Mary and Pope, to their difference of political opinion; but the fact seems to be, that both wanted that exclusive warmth of adulation which each was unwilling to concede to the other. As a poetess, Lady Mary, assuredly, is entitled to little praise. Her town-eclogues were fashionable for a time, but they only lived while they had fashion to recommend them. Her epistle from Arthur Grey,* the footman, to Mrs. Mahony, which the editor of her poems affirms to possess "the true Ovidian tenderness," is, perhaps, the most scandalous composition that ever proceeded from the pen of a woman of quality. It would be charity to suppose the verses written in burlesque. Yet when Pope hazarded an emendation, she would say, "Come, no touching, Pope, for what is good the world will give to you, and leave the bad for me." From a mutual jealousy of ascendancy in wit, no doubt, their disagreement arose. The lady called in Lord Harvey to her assistance. In repartee they quite eclipsed the bard of Twickenham, who was often fain to retire abruptly from the table. Provoked by repeated discomfiture, Pope "drew" his pen, and, in an instant, became conqueror in his turn. The allies carried on the war for some time, but at length, descending from their poetic stilts, they complained of their injuries in sober prose; and Pope, who was not afraid of any man in verse, but had a pointed dislike to disputes in plain English, recanted, conceded, and, to use the phrase of Dr. Johnson, retreated meanly. Lady Montagu's epigram may be adduced as a proof of the spirit with which the conflict was, for a time, sustained:

"Sure Pope and Orpheus were alike inspir'd,

"The blocks and beasts flock'd round them and admir'd."

It would be unjust not to allow Pope his opportunity. The following couplet he intended to be expressive of his connexion with Lady Mary. Speaking of himself, he remarks,

* Arthur Grey was tried for seduction.

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"Once, and but once, his heedless youth was bit,

"And liked that dangerous thing a *female wit*."

The embassy of Mr. Wortley to the Porte afforded his lady a theatre for the display of her greatest accomplishments and most noble virtues. A visit to the Levant had then been rarely made by an Englishwoman. The Turkish territories were plunged in war, and the whole enterprise demanded an unusual elevation of feminine courage. To have undertaken such a journey is, in every shape, to the honor of Lady Mary's character.

Respecting her account of her travels there can exist, it is presumed, but one opinion, and it is a considerable advantage to the literary world to have the authenticity of the "Letters" placed beyond question, by the corrected edition published under the sanction of the noble house of Bute. But the editor has made some annotations that are evidently erroneous, or which are not rendered sufficiently clear by his mode of expression.

"Many persons," writes Mr. Dallaway,* "on the surreptitious appearance of the Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu already published, were inclined to question their originality; or, if that were allowed, the possibility of her acquiring the kind of information she has given respecting the interior of the harem. It may be replied to them, that no one of the Turkish emperors was so willing to evade the injunctions of the Koran as Achmed III. and that he hazarded the love of his people, by retiring to Adrianople, that he might more frequently and freely indulge himself in the habits of life adopted by the other European nations. That access has since been denied to the Seraglio at Constantinople, in the instance of the ambassadors' ladies, is no proof that Lady Mary did not obtain an unrestrained admission, when the court was in retirement, and many ceremonies were consequently dispensed with."

We really cannot comprehend the meaning of the preceding lines. In the whole course of the letters published by Mr. Dallaway, under the authority of the Marquis of Bute, there is not any mention of Lady Montagu entering a *Seraglio*. At Adrianople she visited the ladies of the grand-vizier and the *kiyaya*. Of the Seraglio she had seen no more than the outside. Mr. Dallaway may allude to authentic letters not before the public. According to the tenor of the corrected edition, his explanation is perfectly incomprehensible.

* Pages 27—28. Edit. 1803.

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But unintelligibility is not this editor's only defect. In an essential point, as to a due delineation of Turkish manners, he misleads the reader very flagrantly. The lady of the grand-vizier, (he says,) was the Sultana Hafiten, favorite and widow of the Sultan Mustapha II. We are at a loss to conceive how it was possible that Mr. Dallaway could fall into such a mistake. The lady of the grand-vizier was "near fifty years old," was plain in her style and manners, and was clothed in a *sable vest*.*

The Sultana Hafiten (visited afterwards, at Constantinople, by Lady Montagu,) was only six and thirty years old, was luxurious in her habits of life, and was dressed in apparel of profuse splendour. So evident a misrepresentation is far from pleasant in a work published under the sanction of Lady Mary Wortley's family.

Lady Montagu was second cousin to Henry Fielding, both being descended, in the same degree, from George, Earl of Desmond. It is with regret we state, that she does not appear to have treated him with the cordiality to which he was entitled by birth and genius. His letters are written with an extremity of ceremonious diffidence. Pope, in one of his epistles, names the hours at which he shall consider it desirable for the lady to wait *on him*. Fielding concludes a letter to his cousin in these words: "I shall do myself the honor of calling at your ladyship's door to-morrow, at eleven; which, if it be an improper hour, *I beg to know from your servant* what other time will be more convenient. I am," &c. &c.

That her ladyship might have assisted Fielding's necessities (though it is not evident,) we are not inclined to doubt; but we certainly think that his claim of relationship, united with his reputation for talent, deserved a worthier treatment than, it is probable from the style of the foregoing extract, he was accustomed to receive. He might, assuredly, be a troublesome relation, yet, we believe, Lady Montagu was the only person in the three kingdoms who would have been either afraid or ashamed to own Henry Fielding for a cousin.

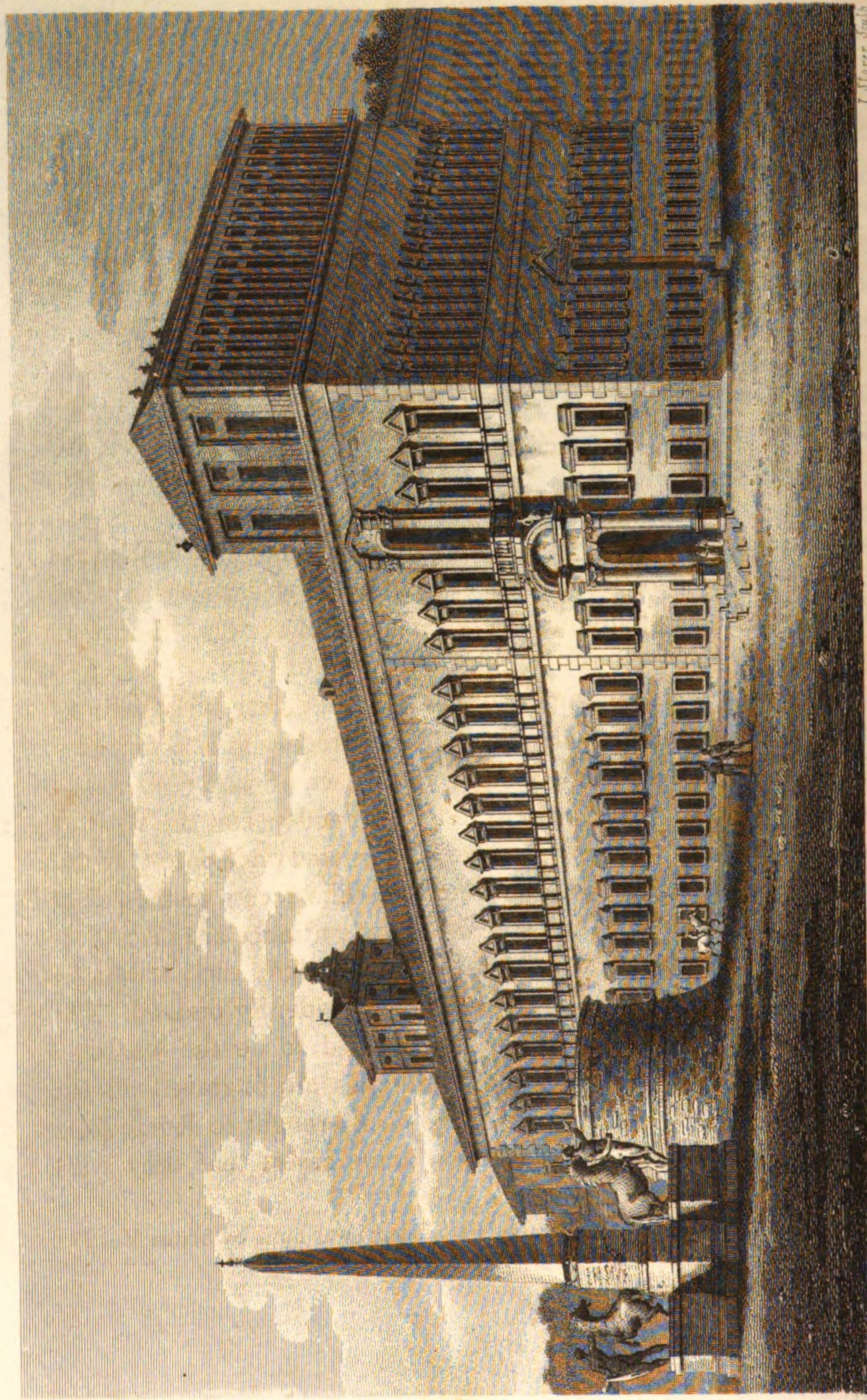
Notwithstanding the indignity with which she seems to have treated Fielding, Lady Mary was fond of patronising genius. Young profited by her literary assistance, and Savage experienced her bounty. This latter instance

* By this expression we are not authorised to understand a *vest of sables*.

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of her friendship was the more estimable, as divers passages in the letters prove her to have been thoroughly acquainted with the value of money.

The name of Lady Montagu must ever be respected in England. Her patriotic conduct in regard to the art of inoculation deserves the gratitude of all posterity. Her translation of the Enchiridion of Epictetus, (the labour of a week) proves her strength of talent, and the facility with which she acquired a knowledge of languages. Her activity of intellect rendered her valuable in every clime she visited. The progress of her mind is depicted in her letters. There we see the vivacious ebullitions of youth; the collective good sense of maturity; and the dignified philosophy of declining life. The person who forms a judgment of Lady Montagu from her prose writings, may safely assert, that she presents a character which the biographer is bound to hold forward as an instance that wit and learning, in an exalted modification of each, may decorate the female mind, without destroying the relish for those connubial and maternal duties which, after all, form subject for the highest praise to which woman need wish to be entitled.



J. Storer Sculp.

J. Jaylor del.

THE SUMMER PALACE OF THE POPE

London. Published by W. H. Wyatt, Nov. 1st 1809.

Historical Description

OF

MONTE CAVALLO,

THE

RESIDENCE OF THE POPE.

AMONG those extensive buildings of recent date with which Rome abounds, Monte Cavallo, the residence of the Pope, maintains a respectable place, though palaces may be readily found, in many divisions of the city, more estimable in regard to beauty as well as magnificence.

For upwards of 1,000 years, the popes inhabited the palace of Laterano.* They then made Avignon their residence. When Gregory XI. returned to Rome, (the due seat of the papal government) the palace of Laterano was so much decayed, that he deemed it expedient to fix his residence at the Vatican, where his successors remained till a palace was constructed on Monte Cavallo.

This structure is seated on the Quirinal mount. The access to the palace displays considerable grandeur. Opposite the chief entrance are placed the two celebrated statues, supposed to be Castor and Pollux, each holding a horse. From these figures the term *Monte Cavallo* is evidently derived. The two colossal images of the twin-gods are conjectured to be the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, the names of which statuaries are engraved on the pedestal. They are generally imagined to have been brought to Rome from Alexandria, by Constantine the Great, though some assert that they were

* The modern Laterano palace (which is extremely magnificent) was built by Sixtus V. The popes never visit it, except for the purpose of taking possession.

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sent to Nero, as a present, by Tiridates, King of Armenia. Let antiquaries dispute the question. The statues are there, and are beautiful, which is sufficient for the eye of taste. When looking at a statue, or contemplating a picture, most men become critics; the connoisseurs have not failed to discover many faults in these excellent figures. One finds that the right-hand of the statue, by Phidias, is larger than the left; and that the left-eye lies more deeply in the socket than the right; but these hasty critics forget that the effect of perspective, for which the artist studied, rendered these disproportions necessary. Kotzebue says, "Why the artist should have made the horses so small* I cannot understand. If their leaders should mount them, their legs would touch the ground." There exist strong reasons for believing that *the horses* are the works of a much more modern artist than Phidias or Praxiteles. Had Kotzebue been aware of this circumstance, his sensibility would have compelled him to praise the delicacy of the sculptor, who diminished the size of the horses to keep them on the back-ground of the picture. If he had designed them in the colossal proportions due to the size of the statues,† the work of the ancients would have been overpowered, and the eye would first have naturally rested on the least estimable part of the group. The sculptor, with admirable modesty, considered his share of the performance as merely calculated to identify the meaning of Phidias and Praxiteles. He placed horses on the pedestals, only to exhibit the grace with which the arms of the statues were extended.

It is observable, that on the shoulders of the two figures there are holes, now filled up, in which iron bars were formerly placed, for the purpose of supporting a thatch, which covered the whole work. This practice was frequent with the ancients; and, from the neglect of a similar precaution among the moderns, these beautiful statues are now decaying, under the influence of the seasons.

Between the statues is placed an Egyptian obelisk, which is composed of red granite, and measures forty-five feet, without the pedestal. It will be

* It will be perceived, from the plate annexed to this article, that the horses are out of proportion, when compared with the human figures. The statues were placed before the palace by Sixtus V.

† A man of the middle size only reaches to the knees of the figures.

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recollected that the Roman emperors caused various obelisks to be conveyed from Egypt, for the purpose of adorning their race-grounds. It certainly betrays a want of sound judgment to place these *curiosities* in different conspicuous situations, as embellishments to the city of Rome.*

The present palace on Monte Cavallo was founded by Pope Gregory XIII. towards the close of the sixteenth century. It has been embellished by many succeeding popes, and is much esteemed for the salubrity of the air in the neighbourhood. The edifice is extensive, but boasts little grandeur of architectural composition. No Corinthian capitals, nor porticos of marble, are to be witnessed in the main design of the building. All is simple and unostentatious, though massive and dignified. How appropriate is this mode of construction to the due character of the head of a church, professing sanctity, yet not sedulous to hide power! It is to the lasting credit of Gregory XIII. to have planned an edifice so plain, and, yet, so august. Architects delighting in ornament were at his command, and the prevalent taste demanded a superfluity of embellishment; but his correctness of judgment readily perceived the impropriety of exterior adornment, and his palace remains a silent, yet persuasive, lesson to his successors, of the moderation which should ever mark their actions as ecclesiastics. Still, neither the purposes of pontifical dignity, nor the graces of refined art, were rudely neglected. The architecture of the chan-cery, (from designs by Bramante) is particularly admired.

We have heard much of the splendid domestic arrangements of the popes, yet we seek in vain for sumptuousness, if we examine the furniture of their palace. The saloons, and various other apartments, of Monte Cavallo are extremely large, but destitute of every thing that bespeaks habitual magnificence; and, in some respects, deficient in articles of domestic comfort. In the chief rooms not a single chair is to be seen, but great numbers of wooden benches, which are painted marble-grey. As if the popes were studious of frugality, even to parsimony, drawers are placed in the seats of these benches, for the purpose of depositing numerous domestic articles. A single chair,

*One of these obelisks is placed before the Lateran church, and the pious bishop who seated it there thought proper to erect on the top the holy cross of the Christian faith! A strange companion to the mysterious hieroglyphics of the Egyptians.

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behind the table in the saloon, distinguishes the spot on which the pope eats his solitary dinner. How different must be this melancholy meal, from the picture usually formed of a *Leo*, surrounded by wits and poets, and partaking of the joys of a luxurious board!

The spectator unwillingly finds that some of the potent tenants of the papal mansion have wanted a becoming discrimination, in regard to the finer arts. "A long gallery," we are told, "is hung with painted colossal angels, which either leer on the astonished visitor, or frighten him, by stretching against him their distorted limbs."

The chapel-room is painted in fresco, by the celebrated Guido; yet either the prescription of bigotry, or the artist's casual error in judgment, has introduced absurdities which render futile all the delicacies of ingenuity. The domestic life of the Virgin Mary is the subject of Guido's paintings in the pontifical chapel. In domestic life there are many feminine duties which are very necessary, but which are truly laughable, when their portraiture is blended with the fundamentals of religion. In order to settle the wavering faith of the spectator, or, perhaps, to heighten his admiration of the mother of Jesus, Guido has exhibited the blessed Virgin very gracefully sewing swaddling-clothes, while some little angels watch the motion of her hand, and appear anxious to learn the best method of hemming baby-linen!

The palace, however, contains the valuable antiques found at Ostia, and some excellent statues of a more modern date.

From a description of the building, we naturally revert to an account of the founder, and of the pope who has subsequently embellished the edifice.

The lives of the bishops of Rome afford a curious speculation to the student of human character. Many of these ecclesiastical potentates were raised from a very humble rank. The whole were nursed in cloisters, and (at any rate, previous to their elevation) were conspicuous for their zeal in regard to that form of religious worship, which is supposed the most oppressive of human faculty, and the most conducive to a tyrannical cast of disposition. Still, it will be recollected, that the acts of mere temporal rulers are, frequently, the almost inevitable produce of the spring-tide of the passions. Youthful obstinacy, youthful ductility, have alternately tended to create disastrous wars, or more calamitous treaties and coalitions. The bishops of Rome (once sub-

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limely pre-eminent among the sovereigns of Europe) have never been selected from the puerile and inexperienced, and have seldom attained the crosier of pontifical authority, till an advanced period of existence might be supposed to have cooled all the emulative propensities of the mind, save those which centre in the furtherance of universal good, as a preparation for a peaceful and honorable grave.

How erroneous is ordinary calculation! No youthful monarch, at the head of a chivalrous people, ever displayed more fantastic ambition than the majority of the aged popes. An activity of religious enthusiasm has, on the other hand, been, comparatively, the characteristic of few. Some have adhered with austerity to the becoming plainness of the sacerdotal character; others have delighted in pomp, or indulged in the luxury of attic elegance; and nearly all have been ambitious.

Among the few incumbents of the papal chair, whom the possession of absolute power has failed to vitiate, Gregory XIII. demands a conspicuous place. This eminent bishop succeeded Pius V. so well known for the severity with which he persecuted those disciples of Luther who had recently adopted the appellation of Protestants. It is supposed that, as usual, considerable intrigue was employed to procure the election of the cardinal of St. Sixtus. A prompt majority of voices was, at any rate, procured. The cardinals had not been shut for more than five hours in the conclave, when their choice was declared to fall on *Hugh Buoncompagno*, cardinal of St. Sixtus. He accordingly ascended the chair, and took the name of Gregory XIII.

The pointed arguments of Luther, and the entire dereliction of some courts, together with the indifference in regard to the papal interests manifested by others, rendered the administration of ecclesiastical power a task of extreme difficulty during the latter years of the sixteenth century. Gregory appears to have been just and amiable, but to have wanted the perseverance and vigour demanded by the necessities of the see, at this juncture. Such, indeed, is the principle of re-action in sublunary events, that a faulty extremity of seeming virtue is usually the offspring of offensive injustice. While cardinal of St. Sixtus, Gregory had looked with detestation on the uniform severity and oppressive exactions practised by his predecessor. Studious of avoiding a similar impropriety of demeanor, he erred from an excess of gentleness, and was vir-

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tually cruel, through an abundance of mercy. So difficult is the attainment of a judicious medium to the most cultivated mind!

The easiness of Gregory's disposition is illustrated by the following anecdote:—A criminal, who had robbed a church in Naples, was apprehended by the officers of the archbishop, pretending that it belonged to him to take cognizance of the crime of sacrilege. But, as the criminal was a layman, the viceroy, Cardinal Granville, insisted upon his being tried and punished by him; and, upon the archbishop's refusing to deliver him up, he caused his prison to be broke open, the criminal to be taken from thence, and, as soon as found guilty, to be publicly hanged. The archbishop ordered his vicar to excommunicate all who were any ways concerned in executing the viceroy's orders; which was done accordingly, and the sentence was posted up in all public places of the city. But the cardinal ordered all the copies of it to be daubed over with ink, directed the vicar to quit the city of Naples within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom as soon as he possibly could; imprisoned all the archbishop's officers, and sequestered all his revenues, even his patri-monial. The good-natured pope, instead of espousing the cause of the archbishop, privately agreed with the cardinal that the affair should be dropped, and all things restored to the condition they were in before the quarrel broke out.*

The same pacific softness of temper marked the conduct of Gregory in respect to a great political transaction of his life. When Sebastian, King of Portugal, died without issue, many persons asserted a right to his crown. But the pretensions of the other claimants were speedily absorbed in those of the pope, and Philip, King of Spain; for by the term '*right to the crown*,' it is evident that, in these ages, was meant *strength to seize* the glittering ornament. Now, as Philip could immediately raise an army of 30,000 men, while the pope was not able, at the moment, to muster half that number, the casuists discovered that Philip was the rightful successor of Sebastian. The pope wrote to Philip, and explained to that monarch that the kingdom of Portugal was a fief of the church, and, as such, it had devolved to the apostolic see; and that it was as evident as the light of heaven at broad noon, that he (the pope) might either

* Archibald Bower's History of the Popes.

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keep it in his own possession, or dispose of it in the way that should best suit his sacred inclinations. To all these logical remarks Philip advanced but one argument in reply;—he marched his 30,000 men into Portugal. The pope was confuted in an instant; and, instead of flying to arms, or seeking redress, through endeavours to foment warfare between Philip and the neighbouring powers, the good-natured Gregory sent an ambassador to felicitate the new King of Portugal on the success which had attended his undertaking!

During the pontificate of Gregory, the Jesuits are said to have been particularly successful in their endeavours to convert to christianity the inhabitants of the island of Japan. Four ignorant natives of that country, termed *ambassadors*, from certain converted princes, appeared in Rome, for the purpose of paying obeisance to the wonderful being whom they had been instructed to suppose immaculate as the Godhead, and almost as wise. These wretched dupes were received at the gate of the city by the senate, magistrates, and all the nobility. Thousands of the populace joined the exhibition, of course, and, in proof of their zeal for christianity, they conducted the wondering Japanese to the house of the Jesuits, with triumphant acclamations. The next day, the same persons of dignity, and the same number of mob, attended the gaping converts to the presence of the pope. His holiness received them in a full consistory, and they were permitted to kiss his foot. The pope then ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches, and rejoicings to be made throughout the city, for several successive days. Of all the farces represented by the church of Rome, surely this was the most contemptible, and, perhaps, the most pernicious, also, in its consequences. But accident, and not nature, made a bigot of Gregory XIII. In times more favorable to the development of intellect, he would, probably, have proved a liberal friend to society. It must ever be remembered, to the honor of this pope, that the calendar was rectified during his pontificate, the new style was introduced by his immediate command.

Gregory is charged with having approved the massacre at Paris, but the general mildness of his character renders the circumstance very unlikely. Great rejoicings were certainly made at Rome, on the occasion; but a respectable historian says, "that it does not appear they were made by his order, or with his consent."

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There is generally some saying of a great man recorded, which tends to the elucidation of his character more satisfactorily than the laboured account of a thousand pompous actions. The only observation of Gregory which is chronicled with correctness, is as follows. When gently reminded of some slight alteration of opinion, after he attained the Papal chair, he replied, "*Being raised higher, I see better and farther.*"

This pope seems to have been a very strict preserver of decency in attire. He had an altercation with the women of Nettuno, concerning the want of length observable in their dresses. The women were fond of short clothes, and moorish boots; but the holy father gained his point; and the dresses were lengthened.

Gregory XIII. died of a quinsey, on the 10th of April, 1585. His pontificate lasted thirteen years and one month, wanting three days. He left a natural son,* whom he created cardinal, as soon as he was preferred to the popedom.

He died cordially lamented, but his excess of lenity caused his loss to be deplored by the *bad*, with quite as much sincerity as it was regretted by the *good*.

Scarcely had that bell, which only sounds on the death of a pope, and for the purpose of announcing the season of the carnival, tolled notice of the decease of the mild and amiable Gregory, when the intrigues of the cardinals commenced, and the conclave assembled for the election of a new pontiff. It is chiefly in an ecclesiastical government that talent has a free chance for supremacy. According to all probable calculation, the power of christian Rome could never have prevailed through so many successive ages, had not ability and address been the constituent qualifications requisite for an advancement to the chair of authority. On reviewing the lives of the popes, we shall find that no humility of situation debarred the man of genius from the hope of eventual exaltation. Adrian IV. was a mendicant. Urban IV. quitted the employment of a cobbler, when he entered the cloister; and Sixtus V. was a keeper of swine!

The conclave which assembled on the death of Gregory, named, as his

* Born before Buoncompagno was raised to the dignity of a cardinal.

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successor, Felix Peretti, Cardinal of St. Jerome, who was a native of a village in the March of Ancona, and who was brought up at a small hamlet in the same province. His father was a vine-dresser, and was so poor, that he placed him, when nine years old, with a neighbouring farmer, who employed him in the watching of swine. A Franciscan friar, who was going to Ascoli, and had missed the road, saw the future pope sitting under a hedge, while tending his master's swine. He called to the boy, and made inquiries concerning his way. Young Peretti replied to the friar's questions with obliging alertness, and walked some distance with him to prevent the possibility of his mistaking the path. It was during this walk that the swine-herd laid the foundation of his future greatness. The friar was charmed with the boy's fire and shrewdness: he took him to his convent, and introduced him to the guardian.

Young Peretti was immediately received in quality of a lay-brother (or servitor) and one of the friars was appointed to teach him the rudiments of the Latin tongue. At the end of two years, he was received into the order, and studied divinity with so much diligence and effect, that he was shortly preferred to the degree of doctor in that faculty. His address and activity soon raised him to the first consideration in his convent. But a cloister was too narrow a scene for his talents; and Pius V. first created him Bishop of St. Agatha, and afterwards Cardinal of St. Jerome.

Peretti knew no pause, while a step in the ascent of ambition remained above him. He aspired to the popedom, and used unceasing art to attain the exalted object of his desire. His passions were naturally turbulent, and his demeanor imperious, but he now imitated all the pliant qualities of the most gentle. His artifices succeeded. He grasped the crosier of power, and was "himself again" on the instant.

The mild virtues of Gregory had entailed a painful task on his successor. The indiscriminate tenderness of that amiable pontiff, had caused the ecclesiastical State to be over-run with assassins and banditti. Sixtus felt the necessity of strenuous measures, and commenced his pontificate with an exemplary exercise of unbending justice.

It had been usual for the pope, at his succession, to throw open the public prisons, and grant a pardon to offenders of every description. Sixtus not only omitted this practice, but ordered four persons, upon whom prohibited

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arms had been found, a few days before, to be immediately executed. He, indeed, carried justice to an awful extremity. It is said, that there is not an instance, during his pontificate, of a criminal being pardoned; but that many examples occur of his punishing such judges as had shewn an inclination to clemency. The state of the Romans certainly demanded severity; yet, it seems strange that not one moment should occur, in the course of his pontificate, in which the sensibility of Sixtus was stronger than his judgment! This stern mode of administration, however, had a beneficial effect. Mutual safety was restored; and the assassin for hire felt obliged to flee for employment to the neighbouring kingdoms.

It is not our intention to follow Sixtus through the whole political events of his pontificate. Our aim is biographical delineation (where it is at all interesting) not general history; and, therefore, we have no concern with the mistakes or cabals of cabinets, except when these tend to elucidate the character of the personage concerning whom we write.

The machinations of Sixtus were uniformly calculated to advance the interests of his see. He looked with suspicion on the over-weening power of Philip of Spain; and, therefore, declined assisting that monarch in his intentions against England, with any other than such spiritual weapons as seemed necessary for the support of the Catholic faith and dignity. But when the discomfiture of the armada threw the temporary ascendancy into the hands of Elizabeth, Sixtus became the friend of Philip, and proceeded to the lengths of excommunicating the English queen, and of causing insurrections to be fomented in her kingdom.

There was nothing liberal, expansive, or becoming an ecclesiastical potentate, in the political opinions of Sixtus. One great principle—the increase of immediate power, actuated all his measures. It was in obedience to this principle that he formed a design of annexing the kingdom of Naples to the dominion of the church; and this motive led him to look with equal indifference on the protestant Elizabeth, and the catholic Philip.

Sixtus had a marked dislike to the order of Jesuits, and this aversion seems to prove the open manliness of his disposition. He could not bend to the closet-whispers and wily intrigues of this treacherous brotherhood: and may be justly pronounced of a bold and daring character. Had fortune placed

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him at the head of the kingdom of Spain, he would probably have rivalled the greatest military sovereigns of the period.

To immortalize his name was the darling wish of Sixtus. His architectural projects emulated the splendour of Adrian and Augustus. The city of Rome owes more to the liberality of Sixtus, than to the united gifts of all his predecessors. There is scarcely a street in the magnificent city that does not contain a monument of his fame. By him the obelisks were raised, which had lain underground for ages. He built the Lateran palace, and the Vatican library, with all the buildings annexed to it. To him is society indebted for the hospital near Ponte Sisto, endowed for the maintenance of 2,000 infirm or superannuated persons. By this pope was constructed the aqueduct, which conveys water, for thirteen miles to Monte Cavallo, and the magnificent temple of the Virgin at Loretto.

When we survey the numerous splendid performances of Sixtus, we are inevitably led to ask how long the pontificate lasted which produced such a variety of noble memorials! Who can avoid surprise, on finding the answer to be five years four months and three days!—But a less period would be sufficient for a noble mind to achieve the labour of immortality.

Amongst the foremost of the great characters of the historic page, we do not hesitate to place the name of Sixtus V. His severity was exacted by circumstances, and we must ever lament that so exalted a mind wanted opportunity to exhibit the transcendant charms of clemency and pity. The narrowness of his political sentiments was the narrowness of Alexander and Cæsar; but it certainly sat with little gracefulness on the brow of an ecclesiastical ruler. The magnificence of his personal views is evident from the architectural splendours which he has added to the city of the Arts.

Sixtus was often heard to say, that “he had no great esteem for any of the Christian princes, except Elizabeth of England, and Henry of Navarre.”—With the names of those sovereigns that of pope Sixtus V. (who was once a keeper of swine) should ever be associated by the candid part of posterity.

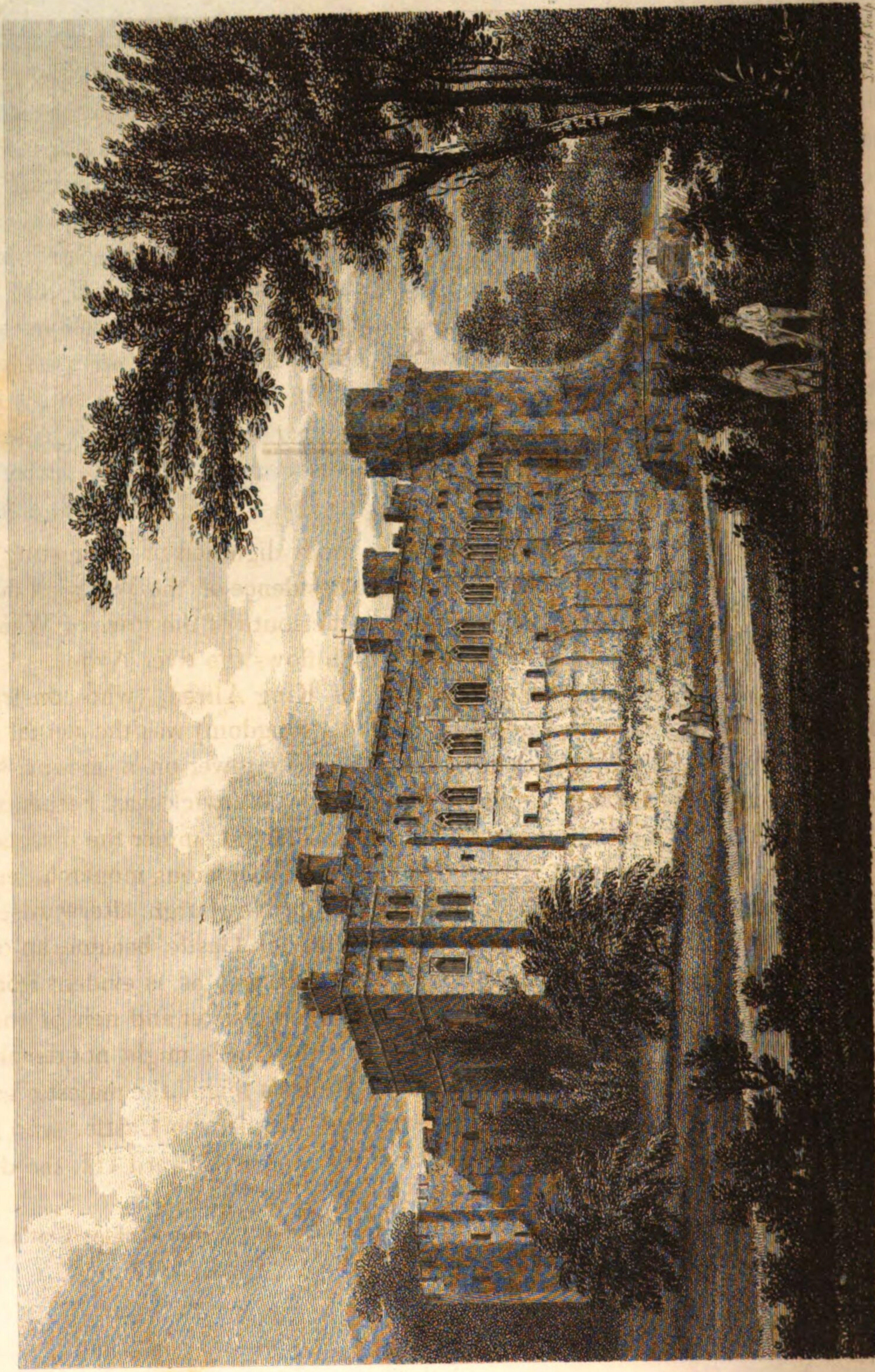
He died on the 27th of August, 1590.

Before we close our account of Monte Cavallo, we cannot refrain observing the great disadvantage under which every spectator views the edifices of modern Rome; the streets of the ancient city were narrow, but squares were

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left in which public buildings were placed, and from which they could be seen with facility and effect.—The ancients always considered the point of prospect as a necessary appendage to the beauty of the structure; widely different is the present city. It must, however, be observed, that those palaces of Rome, and the villas of the Campagna, which owe their foundation to recent periods, are both numerous and superb. A princely liberality of scale is observable in the more important structures.

The Romans were ever fond of the *vast* and magnificent.—In this respect the moderns vie with the ancients.—But, unfortunately, comfort and convenience have been overlooked by both. Long ranges of apartments, in which no desirable recess for domestic relaxation could be possibly discovered, formed the chief habitable parts of the villa of Mæcenas, and of the palace of Adrian. The same observation applies to every modern building of importance in Rome.



WARWICK CASTLE

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Description

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FEW monuments of feudal grandeur are more dignified or interesting than the castle which has long been the favored residence of the Warwick family. This magnificent structure stands a little to the south of the town of Warwick, on a rock forty feet high, at the base of which flows the river Avon.

In all probability, Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, (who constructed many fortified recesses in various parts of the kingdom) was the actual foundress. The building at first consisted of a single tower on a mount.* In the time of William the Conqueror, Turchill de Warwick was keeper of the Castle. The fortifications were considerably enlarged, under the direction of Turchill. But the warden giving offence to the suspicious monarch, he was displaced, and the Castle bestowed on Henry de Newburgh afterwards created Earl of Warwick. From this period Warwick Castle became an object of consideration with the ruling power of the island, as is evident from the circumstance of Henry III. commanding Margery, sister and heir of the late Earl, not to marry without his consent, "that the Castle might not devolve to improper hands." In the fortieth year of Henry's reign, the majestic edifice was surprised by John Gifford, Governor of Kenilworth Castle, who razed the walls to the ground; but, in the forty-fifth year of Edward III. the dilapi-

* Supposed to be the same mount that still remains on the west side of the Castle.

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dations were repaired by Thomas Guy, Earl of Warwick, and the building again restored to the character of a potent embattled fortress.

This earl (whose gallantry and conduct were conspicuous in the fields of Cressy and Poitiers) was chosen to have the sole care of King Richard II. during the minority of that sovereign. When he had fulfilled this task, he retired to his estate, and spent considerable sums in architectural pursuits. In the year 1394, he completed the twelve-angled tower, called Guy's, on the right hand of the Castle entrance; * and constructed the body of St. Mary's church, at Warwick.

In the reign of Edward IV. the fortress of Warwick was in the possession of the royal family, and occupied by George Plantagenet, the king's brother; by whom very considerable additions were made to the strength of the building.

The Castle continued with the crown till Edward VI. created John Dudley Earl of Warwick. On the attainder of that nobleman, the sovereign again became proprietor of his fortified residence; but Elizabeth gave the title and appendages to Ambrose, son of the late earl, who dying without issue, James I., in the second year of his reign, made a grant of the building to Sir Fulk Grevile. At this period, the noble mansion exhibited one scene of vice, misery, and desolation. Its walls were quickly falling to unheeded decay, and the strongest apartments (once occupied by nobles, who were the pride of their country) were consigned to the purposes of a common gaol! The correct taste and liberal spirit of Sir Fulk Grevile restored the edifice to its original splendour; and, during the civil war, it was used as a garrison for the Parliament. In 1642, the Castle was besieged by Lord Northampton, and defended with great gallantry by Sir Edward Peito. The activity of the besiegers succeeded in surprising the artillery and ammunition on the road for the defence of the garrison, but Sir Edward, with only one piece of ordnance, sustained the utmost fury of the assailants, and preserved the place till Lord Brooke, with the force under his command, arrived to its relief.

Considerable alterations were effected in the state-apartments, by Robert

* This is the most elevated part of the building in our plate of Warwick Castle. The expense of building this tower was 395*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*

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Earl of Brooke, in the reign of Charles II. The successor of that nobleman was created Earl of the Castle in the tenth year of George II. from whom the title and estate descended to the present Earl of Brooke and Warwick.

It will be evident, that the site of Warwick Castle was well adapted to the purpose of defence. It is also peculiarly estimable in a point more consolatory and engaging,—the prospects around are of the most picturesque description. The windings of the Avon, the majesty of ancient woods, and the gentle alternation of hill and dale, unite to charm and elevate the fancy.

The approach to the Castle is impressively grand. A devious, hollow way, cut from the rock on which the Castle stands, denies all observation of the building, for the distance of 100 yards. On reaching an abrupt turn, the mighty pile is suddenly disclosed! Its embattled entrance, its sublime towers, and its perilous moat, half-concealed by the dark foliage of various trees and shrubs, present themselves at once to the admiration of the spectator, and compose the noblest instance of architectural effect to be witnessed amongst the castellated remains of feudal magnificence.

The double gate-way by which the visitor enters the area of the august dwelling, is flanked by embattled walls, from which rise, at appropriate distances, lofty machiolated towers. That part of the edifice which is devoted to family uses by the noble proprietor, is splendid and massive, yet entirely devoid of all the gloom usually supposed inevitable to buildings originally composed for the purpose of defence, as well as for that of baronial magnificence.

A great part of this agreeable cheerfulness of aspect is occasioned by the judicious alterations effected by the present earl. But, though the purposes of modern life have required, and obtained, a rejection of many of the ancient architectural peculiarities of the Castle, all possible respect has been paid to the characteristical marks of antiquity, where these did not positively interfere with the necessities of a refinement of habit. Thus, the antique and military rudeness of Guy's Tower is preserved inviolate; and in many parts of the edifice, the Norman eyelet, adapted to the secure discharge of arrows, is retained, with a becoming delicacy of veneration.

Many pictures of the first rank, for execution and interest, grace the collec-

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tion of the Earl of Warwick. In the *anti-chamber* may be particularly noticed a fine picture of Lady Brooke, by an unknown artist; and a whole-length portrait, by Vandyck, of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, so well known for her attractions and ill-fate. This unfortunate sister of Charles II. was once reduced to so extreme a depth of poverty, that, according to Cardinal Retz, there was not a billet of wood in the house in which she resided with her mother, nor would the tradesmen give the forlorn queen credit for one! A gleam of prosperity shone on the head of the illustrious daughter; but it was as transient as glittering; and she was suspected to die through the operation of poison, at an early period of life.

In the *cedar drawing-room* are several excellent pictures by Vandyck, and a Circe by Guido.

Amongst many fine paintings in the *gilt room* the spectator will unavoidably admire a whole-length of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the society of Jesuits, by Rubens.

In the *dressing-room*, is a half-length of Anne Boleyn, by Holbein, which is most excellently executed. In the same apartment, is a half-length of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, by Lely; a beautiful whole-length of a Dutch boy, by Vernosi; together with some exquisite vases.

To convey an adequate idea of the dimensions of the noble building, it may be mentioned that this room "terminates a suite of apartments which extend, in a right line, 330 feet."

A small adjoining apartment is embellished with painted glass, and contains a beautiful half-length, by Rubens, of Catherine of Arragon. According to the assertion of Henry, and the general opinion of her contemporaries, this queen formed an excellent consort to the "Defender of the Faith," but (if the printed evidence may be relied on) she certainly made a mistake when she denied the conclusion of her marriage with his elder brother.

Not any castle in England boasts so fine a collection of English armour as that of Warwick: a dignified and becoming appendage to the edifice once tenanted by the hardy chieftains of the times which are "past and gone!" Not the least interesting garb of defence (as well from the character of the nobleman, as from the locality of the deposit) is the doublet in which Lord

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Brooke was slain at Lichfield. Even the passage that leads to the armory is consecrated to the arts. Amongst the pictures, an original head of Sir Philip Sidney is placed, with interesting propriety.

The dining-room is ornamented with a variety of portraits. That of Sir Fulk Greville will not be passed with indifference by the literary visitor.

Rembrandt, Vandyck, and Snyder, have united to decorate the breakfast-room.

A way has been lately constructed from the area of the Castle to a walk, which winds towards the green-house. Here, after the portcullis is passed, and a passage over the wide moat gained by means of a bridge, the visitor beholds the extensive green-house, whose Gothic front assimilates with the objects around, and cherishes the respect with which he has before contemplated the relics of antiquity. In this building is placed the celebrated vase presented to the Earl of Warwick by Sir W. Hamilton.

In the arrangement of the grounds no less taste is displayed than in the disposal of the venerable Castle.

An umbrageous walk leads from the green-house to the banks of the river. Through the trees which shade this track, occasional openings are made, to permit a view of the Castle in its most picturesque points. A second path leads, through an extensive plantation, to a bridge thrown by the late earl over the river Avon.

Through all the varieties of scene observable in the extensive domain, a due attention to the genius of the place is manifest. The descriptions of natural scenery, and of the tasteful devices by which art heightens the effect of the most sublime native beauties, are equally foreign to our purpose. One reflection unavoidably occurs; that the pride is honest which arises from a comparison of the elegance displayed in the grounds of the Castle, at the present era, with the state of neglected rudeness in which they lay during the period of the mansion's greatest military strength, and highest pitch of feudal grandeur. Selfish ambition never yet felt the charms of natural beauty. Lucullus and Meccenas delighted in their rural villas, but Cæsar and Mark Antony looked with a dull eye on the scenery of the Campagna.

Every country, in the infancy of its annals, abounds with wonders; chaotic combinations calculated to elevate the imagination, and, thereby, subject the

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understanding. Amongst the most temperate of these historical assumptions, those of England certainly must be ranked. And yet we have our tutelar saint, with his dragon; our bevis of Southampton; our non-descript Gog and Magog; and——our Guy Earl of Warwick.

The story of this renowned champion, Guy, must be familiar with every reader. Many have learned their letters in his history, and he was one of the nursery heroes with nearly all. In past ages, periods during which "wit and taste were in their infancy," no doubt but the deeds of this redoubted champion were recorded in adult circles, while each hearer believed the tale "devoutly true." Tradition tells us, that the earl was much above the common standard of men's stature and prowess, and that in addition to many other great achievements, he destroyed a boar "of passing might and strength," near Windsor; and a cow, "a monstrous, wyld, and cruell beast," on Dunsmore-heath. Most traditional intelligence, however strange and incongruous, has its foundation in some character of fact. The investigation of national superstitions is curious; and this story, among others, has not failed to engage the attention of the learned.* The reader, therefore, will readily excuse our devoting a short page to the subject.

All the legends of early times, when the fancy of the major part of society is potent, and the judgment correspondently weak, are disguised in fable; or, in other words, personification is commonly substituted for literal detail. The unusual strength, and amplitude of form, therefore, ascribed to this ancient earl, we may easily resolve into a succinct and popular mode of explaining his great power and resources. The ways in which this power was employed appear equally evident, if we regard them as traditional facts wrapped in a thick veil of fabulous pageantry. It is certain that the inclosures of very early times (i. e. the monopolizing of arable lands, by the great lords or proprietors, for the purpose of pasturage, in the form of home demesnes, or parks) were considered by the bulk of the people as the most grievous oppression which could be inflicted. The first writers of English history abound with philippics on the subject of this aggression. Now, if we suppose "Guy, Earl of Warwick" to have been a man of an elevated patriotic disposition, and one

* Leland, Sir William Dugdale, and Dr. Heylin, talk seriously on the subject!

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who was ardently alive to the interests of the lower classes, may we not readily conclude that he evinced this tenderness of feeling by opposing vigorously the inclosures then so perniciously prevalent in the kingdom? And, if he opposed these efficaciously, the people might well term his power of a gigantic nature. Admitting this to have been his conduct, what was so natural to an ignorant age (fond of fable and personification) as to hand down the story to posterity, in the form of Guy, Earl of Warwick, (that man of immense strength) having destroyed the cow (the animal used for depasturage) of Dunsmore-heath?

Admitting the validity of this train of reasoning, the destruction of the boar is easily explained. The devastation committed by the early monarchs, for the purpose of extending forest districts (therein to hunt, among other animals, the boar) was assuredly one of the greatest liberties ever taken with the common rights of society. Not contented with having interrupted the encroachments of that "monstrous, wyld, and cruell beast, the cow," our puissant earl stood between the king and the people, and put a stop to the terrific progress of "the boar of passing might and strength, also." In short, either by arguments or threats, he prevailed on the Nimrod of the day to desist from his demands for more land, for the purpose of throwing it into forest. In support of this statement, it may be observed, that the boar is said to have been destroyed near Windsor, once the scene of the most arbitrary exercise of this species of tyranny. The various supplementary actions reported to have been performed, for the good of his country, by the celebrated earl, we, of course, (in attention to the practice of historians) must affirm to be futile interpolations, if the dates do not quite agree with the constituent fundamentals of our hypothesis. Indeed, what is more likely than that a gigantic wonder should absorb less captivating prodigies, in its descent through the generations of the illiterate and credulous?

Let those smile who please. We claim the full merit of an historical discovery, and this the more readily, since few indeed will envy the ingenuity that led to it!

The legend of Guy caused so much popularity to attach, in dark and ferocious periods, to the title of Warwick, that the possessors of the earldom certainly encouraged the veneration with which the vulgar regarded the memory and exploits of that adventurous hero. Thus, the whole series of his supposed

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actions was represented in the old hangings of Warwick Castle; and various particulars of armour, &c. said to have belonged to him, have been preserved there for several centuries.* At this day, these latter curiosities are to be seen, and consist of the presumed helmet, shield, sword, and horse-armour of Earl Guy, together with the rib of a whale, said to be that of the dun cow, and various articles of the same description.

At the distance of about two miles from the Castle is Guy's cliff, a beautiful and recluse spot, whither the champion earl is affirmed to have retired, and assumed the sanctity of the eremite.—“Hard by, upon the Avon,” says Camden speaking of Warwick, “stands Guy-cliff, called by others Gibb-cliff, the present seat of Thomas de Bellofago, or Beaufoe, of the old Norman race. This place is the seat of pleasure itself: there is a shady grove, crystal springs, mossy caves, meadows ever green; a soft and murmuring fall of waters under the rocks; and, to crown all, solitude and quiet, the greatest darling of the muses. Here, Fame tells us, that Guy of Warwick, that celebrated hero, after he had finished his martial achievements, built a chapel, led a hermit's life, and was at last buried. But the wiser sort think that this place took its name from Guy de Beauchamp, who lived much later. And certain it is that Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, built and dedicated there a chapel to St. Margaret, and set up the giant-like statue of the famous Guy, still remaining.”

It is pleasing to note the progressive refinement evident in the different architectural features of Warwick Castle. The foundress, though the daughter of the potent Alfred, was contented with a solitary tower, erected on the apprehensive elevation of a mount. The embattled gate-way, and the lofty turrets of Thomas Guy, Earl of the Castle in the reign of Edward III. and his successor, proclaim the chivalric spirit and magnificent notions of the age; while the splendid alterations of Sir Fulk Greville exhibit the liberal wishes of his era for internal accommodation as well as massive exterior grandeur.

* A sword, called Guy's, was possessed by the Earls of Warwick in the reign of Edward III. The sword and armour now at Warwick Castle were much esteemed by Henry VIII. The Castle then remained in the hands of the sovereign, and Henry committed the armour of Guy to the care of William Hoggeson, yeoman of the buttery, with a salary for the performance of his trust.

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It is equally gratifying to reflect on the various manners and pursuits of those illustrious persons who have, at different periods, occupied this princely abode. It appears probable that Ethelfleda possessed the luxury of glass windows in her tower, though the generality of private dwellings admitted light through frames of fine linen, or wooden lattices. The furniture of the building was mean. The arts of weaving and embroidering were known and practised, but performances of this kind were exclusively dedicated to the embellishment of religious worship. The banquet was the great enjoyment of the period; and here the guests were placed according to their respective ranks, with scrupulous ceremony, and were generally very numerous, as every person of distinguished quality retained an extensive retinue (or mimic court) of persons entitled to share the pleasures of the convivial hour. The table was simply spread with substantial joints, which were merely roasted or boiled. The goblet was freely circulated, and the carousers were particularly watchful lest any man should drink more deeply than his due share of the flaggon warranted. A disgusting proof of selfish barbarism! But the choicest part of the revelry consisted in the strains of the minstrels who attended. Musicians (who always joined the efforts of poetry to the charms of instrumental melody) constantly waited in the banquetting-rooms of the great. Their songs told of deeds of arms, of instances of patriotic ardour; and the tones of the violin, the harp, the atola, the psaltery, and tabor, pipe, and flute, seconded the fervor of their metrical ebullitions.

The private hours of the lady Ethelfleda were chiefly devoted to the needle. Works of embroidery, at this time, were encouraged and practised by ladies of distinction. Learning was confined to regular professors; and an educated woman was considered a prodigy! Insomuch, indeed, that even Alfred, at the age of twelve years, could not read a sentence, and it was by mere accident that he acquired the rudiments of literature. Music, though essential to the enjoyments of the lordly, does not appear to have been, in any recorded instance, practised by a female. The art of painting was in the hands of a few, and those few were chiefly employed by the bishops and abbots of the day, in the embellishments of places consecrated to religious purposes. What, then, was to preserve the lady Ethelfleda from the imposing phantasies of superstition? Games of chance, it is true, were customary. Dice, chess,

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backgammon, were in use with every person of rank ; but the lady Ethelfleda had a more laudable employment in her needle. At the embroidery frame, then, we picture the lady Ethelfleda seated ; her linen mantle, which covered the whole person, thrown over her, and fastened on the right shoulder by a button or broach ; her hair flowing, in long and graceful ringlets, down her back. Nor was silk unusual in her attire, while furs of the most delicate kind were ready to protect her from the severity of winter. Thrice happy was she in possessing the solitary recourse which we have described, since no carriage waited to convey her to the enjoyments of the social visit. A species of chariot was indeed known, but it was rare, and chiefly deemed an appendage to the dignity of queens. It was not till the fourteenth century, that literature began to flourish. Its progressive march was slow ; yet the gloom began to dispel which had so long concealed its charms. This period may not be improperly termed *a new era*, for we find, on the accession of Sir Fulk Greville to the gratifying honors of Warwick Castle, the ancient fortress became the theatre of tame, but exquisite, domestic enjoyment. Barbarous revelry, or gaudy dissipation, had hitherto been the pursuit of those who commanded within the ponderous walls. The "Augustan age of literature" had now arrived. The social virtues moved in the train of lettered intelligence, and a chastened gaiety, less noisy but nearer to the heart, took place, in the noble's family, of tumultuary banquettings and the half-serious contests of the festive joust. The machiolated towers, and embattled gate-way of the Castle, were now regarded only as the eloquent memorials of a former day. In a word, the Castle, for the first time, possessed a library ; and the softer graces naturally became inmates of the altered abode.

Were we to attempt giving an account of all connected with the title of Warwick, whose actions would decorate the page of biography, we should be led into a detail of the chief events in national history. A few select characters unavoidably demand notice.—Of all those Earls of Warwick who bore away the palm of hardihood, in the days of early contention, Richard Neville, that "whirlwind" of the land, as Camden figuratively terms him, is the most distinguished. The powers of mind, and the immensities of resource required in the man who was to pluck down kings, or enthrone subjects, at his pleasure,

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combine to decorate the memory of this Earl, and to render him one of the most august characters in the collection of historical portraits. We shudder while contemplating the picture, but he is so entirely the hero that all feel an interest in his success, and admire if they cannot applaud.

In the earliest indications of turbulence evinced by the Duke of York, Richard, Earl of Warwick, appears as a zealous friend of that "father of Kings." The clemency constantly exhibited by the Duke, in his ambitious enterprizes, is well known. Of this clemency the Earl of Warwick is entitled to a share; and it should be recollected, to his lasting honor, that throughout the whole disastrous war of "the Roses," we find none of those deliberate cruelties attached to his name, which were so common with the major part of the leaders on both contending sides. It has been asserted, by many historians, that he was concerned in the murder of Earl Rivers and Sir John Widvile (father and brother to the queen of Edward IV.) but Dr. Henry justly observes that, "there is the clearest evidence that King Edward himself entertained no such suspicion; for he constituted the Earl of Warwick, immediately subsequent to that event, chief-justiciary of South Wales, and gave him several other offices of power and trust, which he assuredly would not have done if he had suspected that Warwick had any connection with rebels who had murdered his own father and brother-in-law."

The "grey, uncrowned head" of the meek Henry was certainly treated by him with an undue want of veneration. When this shadowy monarch was betrayed into the hands of Edward, and conveyed to London, he was met at Islington by the Earl of Warwick, who caused his feet to be tied to the stirrups of his horse, "and behaved to him in other respects with great indignity." Proclamation was issued that no person should regard the forlorn prisoner with compassion, as he moved through the streets: and when he arrived on Tower-hill, he was compelled to ride three times round the pillory. But this was so far from an age of generosity, that the negative merit of abstinence from bloodshed, may be almost pronounced a positive virtue, in those who obtained absolute power over a formidable opponent.

Ingratitude does not appear to have been one of the failings of Edward IV. He treated his great auxiliary, Warwick, with the respect due to the friend who had so ably assisted his elevation to the crown. The insolence and

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aggrandizements of the new family of the Widviles, alone caused that disgust which separated the earl from the interests of the infatuated monarch. Warwick, however, appears to have been friendly to the alliance of Edward, till the assumptions of the queen's family passed the bounds of moderation. It was between the Duke of Clarence and this earl that Elizabeth was led to the abbey church of Reading, when the king declared his marriage, and the Earl of Warwick stood godfather to the daughter named after herself.

At the commencement of the year 1468, Warwick remained so favorable to the court, that the Lady Margaret rode behind him through the streets of London, previous to her departure for the purpose of being married to the Duke of Burgundy.

But the earl's life was dedicated to domestic trouble and haughty contention. He could not brook the increasing arrogance of the queen's relations, and formed those plans of vengeance which rendered the whole nation parties in a private dissention.

It appears that the romantic story of Edward being taken prisoner by Warwick, and sent to his castle of Middleham, in Yorkshire, from whence he made his escape through the indulgence of his keeper, is altogether erroneous. This strange tale is supposed, by a more sober writer, to originate in the following circumstance. Before Edward commenced his march against the rebels under Sir Robert Wells, he "paid a visit to George Neville, Archbishop of York, at his house of Moor Park; and, when washing before supper, he received private notice that 100 men at arms were ready to seize his person. Alarmed at this notice, he went suddenly out of the house, mounted his horse, and rode off full speed to Windsor."

The following instance of ingratitude must have irritated, to the extreme, the lofty mind of Warwick. When the earl and his new ally, the Duke of Clarence, were compelled to quit the country which they had so fatally embroiled, they sailed, with their families and most valued friends, for Calais, the governor of which place was a creature of Warwick's raising, and who owed his appointment entirely to the earl's authority. The most pressing circumstances required an immediate landing. The Duchess of Clarence was in labour, and destitute of assistance. But the miscreant pointed the guns of the fortifications against his benefactor, and would not suffer a single person to disembark.

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Few circumstances could be more remarkable than the commencement of a friendly intercourse between Warwick and the object of his most bitter antipathy, Queen Margaret. But that connection soon produced fresh wonders, among which was the abrupt transition of Edward from the throne of a potent monarch to the dependance of a poverty-stricken fugitive! It is well known that when this prince landed, in 1470, at Alcmár, in Friezeland, he had not sufficient money in his pocket to pay for his passage in the trading-vessel which had conveyed him!

When Warwick first ventured on a war against Edward, he certainly intended to place the Duke of Clarence on the throne; but more mature reflection convinced him of the unconquerable difficulties attendant on this scheme, and he married his daughter Ann to the young prince, son of Henry and Margaret. The chief motive that linked the worthless Clarence to the interest of his father-in-law (for ties of relationship are trivial with the ambitious) was evidently the hope of mounting the throne through his means. The chagrin occasioned by his disappointment, in this particular, readily accounts for the eagerness with which he listened to the overtures conveyed from his brother, through the means of a female, whose conduct appears to have been most skilful, but whose name is not known in history.

It was the glory of this earl (and the triumph was not small, considering the adventurous days in which he flourished) to live a "king-maker," and die a hero. The battle of Barnet will be recollected to have terminated his life of vicissitude. A mist (supposed, at the time, to have been raised by a celebrated magician) caused an unhappy mistake, which decided the fortune of the day. The device, or badge, worn by the followers of Lord Oxford, was a star with rays, both on the front and back of their coats. This gallant band had driven their opponents from the field, and were returning to assist their friends, when they were attacked by the Earl of Warwick's men, who mistook them for a body of the enemy, a sun with rays being a device worn by Edward's party. Oxford suspecting treachery, fled with 800 of his partizans, and all on Warwick's side became confusion and dismay. The earl knew how to die, as well as to conquer; he rushed into the thickest of his foes, and fell, covered with wounds.

The history of these ages resembles romance in the quickness of its transitions, and the extremities of fortune experienced by those who form its chief

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characters. The misery of the great Warwick's family, after the honors of his house perished with him in the field of Barnet, almost exceed belief. The Countess of Oxford, sister to the late Earl of Warwick, was reduced, according to Stow, to the necessity of earning a wretched livelihood by her needle; and Lady Ann Neville (relict of the late Prince of Wales) was certainly found, some months after the battle, disguised in the habit of a cook-maid!

Sir Fulk Grevile, Lord Brooke, the great restorer of Warwick Castle, was one of the most distinguished men of the era in which he lived. The inscription on that monument which his lordship caused to be erected during his life-time, is not more compendious than it appears to be honorable to his memory: "*Fulk Grevile, servant to Queen Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney.*" It would be difficult to bestow a greater eulogium, than to describe a man as possessed of integrity and good sense to obey the wishes of a wise prince; of knowledge and discretion sufficient to the counselling of a weak, yet head-strong monarch; and of so great a renown for accomplishments and probity, that he was the chosen friend of the most refined and virtuous character of the age.

Every hour that Lord Brooke could snatch from more imperative avocations, was devoted to literary pursuits. The works of this nobleman are much more estimable, as compositions, than the generality of the performances of the age. The versatility of his genius will be evident from the following list of his works:—"A very short Speech in Parliament."—"The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney."—"Sir Fulk Grevile's five Years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England, and the Relation it had to other Provinces."—"A Letter to an Honorable Lady, with Advice how to behave herself to a Husband of whom she was jealous."—"A Letter of Travel," containing directions to a relation then in France.—"Cœlica," a collection of 109 songs.—"A Treatise of Human Learning," in 150 stanzas.—"An Inquisition upon Fame and Honor," in 86 stanzas.—"A Treatise of Wars," in 68 stanzas.—His "Remains," consisting of Political and Philosophical Poems.—"M. Tullius Cicero, a Tragedy" (disputed)—"Alaham, a Tragedy."—"Mustapha, a Tragedy."

We must not forget to mention, that his lordship evinced the liberality, as

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well as taste of a Mæcenas. He was the admirer of Camden's genius, and the patron of his labours.

Robert, Lord Brooke (whose doublet is still preserved in the armory of Warwick Castle, was thrown on the "darkness and dangers" of "evil days." At that dreadful period of our national annals, when the love of prerogative led an otherwise amiable monarch to forget that the people might likewise be fond of privilege; and when the peculiar tenets of a mob of religious enthusiasts tended, on the other hand, to the inculcation of wild, chimerical notions of independence; there were found, among the more elegant part of the nobility of England, some individuals who glowed with ardent wishes for the happiness of all classes, and whose most fervent desires centred in genuine patriotism.

Amid these, the dignified names of Falkland and Brooke stand pre-eminent. Both indulged the same honest wish, though different views of political propriety (so natural and common a circumstance in such a tempestuous season) led them to exhibit their zeal for national prosperity in dissimilar modes.

Weary of the disputes and interested machinations of the times, the virtuous Lord Brooke resolved to flee from the distracted cabals of his harassed country, and seek an honorable tranquillity in the wilds of America. In this determination he was joined by Lord Say, and the two noblemen had actually taken measures to remove themselves to New England,* when a sudden gleam of hope, produced by one of the many strange vicissitudes of the period, induced Lord Brooke to join in the endeavours of those who desired such a permanent and equitable bond, as was likely to produce mutual security, to be ratified by the king and people.

The great interest of this lord enabled him to inspire the county of Warwick with his own sentiments, and to prevail on it to declare for the parliament, which then professed only the intention of rectifying the oppressive errors of the state. At the head of a considerable body of patriots, he

* In 1635, the two lords sent Mr. George Fenwicke over to New England to prepare their retreat. This emissary caused to be built, in a recluse and beautiful situation, a small town, which was called in allusion to the names of the founders, Saybrook.

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advanced into Staffordshire, and directed his power against Lichfield. It was on the festival of St. Chad, to whom the cathedral of Lichfield is dedicated, that his lordship commanded his troops to storm the close adjoining the cathedral, to which Lord Chesterfield, with a number of the opposite party, had retired. But while his men were advancing for that purpose, their leader received a musket-shot in the eye, and died immediately. The Roman Catholics did not fail to aver, that this shot was discharged by St. Chad, as a punishment for the impiety of the mortal who dared to use hostile measures near a cathedral, on the day consecrated to the recollection of that saint's piety and virtues. But those who seek for causes with a less elevated imagination, know that the hand of a common soldier effected the death of this gallant and virtuous nobleman.

Robert Lord Brooke was an elegant writer, as well as a zealous patriot and a courageous leader. His works, according to Lord Orford's catalogue, are:—"The Nature of Truth, its Union and Unity with the Soul, which is one in its Essence, Faculties, Acts, one with Truth." 1640.—"A Discourse opening the Nature of Episcopacy which is exercised in England." 1641.—"Two Speeches, spoken in the Guildhall, London, concerning his Majesty's Refusal of a Treaty of Peace," 1642.—"Answer to the Speech of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, concerning Accommodation in the House of Lords, December 19, 1642."—"Speech at the Election of his Captains and Commanders at Warwick Castle." 1643.

Description

OF THE

FOUNTAIN OF TREVI.

THE inhabitants of Latium have ever paid particular attention to the purity of the water intended for ablution or nourishment, and have been seen, in all periods, equally sedulous to procure an abundance of this refreshing element in every district of their possessions.

“The chief object,” says a judicious writer, “with the early settlers, was to find good water; and this part (La Campagna di Roma) of Italy is plentifully supplied with the purest and most healthful streams. At first, those who wished to build, fixed on a spot where they could, without further trouble, enjoy this advantage. To discover where the water was best, and in greatest abundance, they not only availed themselves of the observations made on the instinct of birds, and the anatomy of beasts, but from the trees, shrubs, and other vegetable productions,—from their growth, quality, and numbers,—and from various other similar remarks, they were enabled to judge and decide with sufficient precision. Vitruvius, Pliny, and other ancient authors, give minute accounts of the means employed for this important purpose; and we know there was a profession, the members of which were denominated *Hydrophantaë* by the Greeks, and *Aquileges* by the Romans, whose business it was to examine the springs and rivers; and who, when a town was to be built, presided over this branch of public utility, as the architects directed the labours of the workmen.

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Not only are the springs and streams of Latium crystalline and salubrious, but, from the volcanic character of the country, mineral waters and tepid baths are found in almost every recess. This is accounted for by the marshy land, the fragment of an extinct volcano, on which Rome was built. Natural cascades abound in the upland districts, which increase the beauty of the scene, and bestow a healthful coolness on the air.

The aqueducts formed the first of those three circumstances, which, according to Dionysius, constituted the greatness of ancient Rome. They are known to have been fourteen in number, some of which conveyed water to Rome for the distance of fourteen miles. The channels of these aqueducts were large enough to admit a man on horseback. When Rome was besieged by the Goths, who had cut off the water, Belisarius fortified the aqueducts with works of peculiar strength, to prevent the enemy from entering the city by those conveyances.

Water was considered a great delicacy at table by the ancient Romans. Through many centuries the females drank no other liquor. The baths, and the religious and political rites of the ancients, must have rendered an abundance of water absolutely necessary. Accordingly, we find that the first aqueduct was constructed so early as the year of Rome 441.

The Romans learned the use of warm baths from the Asiatics; but the climate of the Campagna, joined to certain peculiarities of clothing, must have rendered frequent immersions in cold water highly desirable, if not actually necessary, to the native inhabitants of the great city, before triumphant excursions had led them to adopt foreign habits of effeminacy. During the first stages of the republic, the Tiber, probably, afforded an easy mode of ablution to the hardy Romans. But when they learned the art of decoration from the Greeks, and became emulous of renown for splendour in public buildings, baths were constructed, productive alike of individual accommodation and national magnificence.

Lateritiam invenit, marmoream reliquit, was the praise applied to Augustus. Tributary thousands attended his call, for the employment of whom no responsibility attached to his government.

The *Thermæ Dioclesianæ* are said to be the largest formed in Rome; yet those built by *Caracalla* were, perhaps, more magnificent. The *Thermæ*

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were divided into numerous compartments, and formed the places of fashionable resort among all classes of the people. Some were public institutions, in which no money was allowed to be received. Others were constructed by private speculators, and to gain admission to which, each person paid a quadrans.* The bathing-time was commonly from noon till evening, and notice (according to Juvenal) appears to have been given, by a bell, on the opening of the baths. Those who bathed at unusual hours, paid much more than the customary price for the freedom of the place.

The writers who profess to give an account of the practices of the *Thermæ*, generally fall into the error of describing the manners of a particular period as those uniformly prevalent during every era; though few circumstances could more entirely vary. Thus, in the more simple days of the republic, there were separate places for the two sexes, but, under the profligate emperors, all persons bathed indiscriminately.

The baths of ancient Rome were places of general amusement. From the following description, a correct idea may be formed of the splendour of these buildings:

The *Thermæ* consisted of a great variety of parts and conveniences; the *Natationes*, or swimming-places; the *Portici*, where people amused themselves with walking, conversing, and disputing together, as Cicero says, *In porticibus deambulantes disputabant*; the *Basilicæ*, where the bathers assembled before they entered, and after they came out of the bath; the *Atria*, or ample courts, adorned with noble colonnades of Numidian marble and oriental granite; the *Ephibia*, where the young men inured themselves to wrestling, and other exercises; the *Frigidaria*, or places kept cool by a constant draught of air, promoted by the disposition and number of the windows; the *Calidaria*, where the water was warmed for the baths; the *Platanones*, or delightful groves of sycamore; the *Stadia*, for the performances of the *Athletæ*; the *Exedrae*, or resting-places, provided with seats for those that were weary; the *Palestræ*, where every one chose that exercise that pleased him best; the *Gymnasia*, where poets, orators, and philosophers recited their works, and harangued for diversion; the *Eleotesia*, where the fragrant oils and ointments were kept for

* About two-pence of our money.

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the use of the bathers; and the *Conisteria*, where the wrestlers were smeared with sand before they engaged."

The number of baths was very great. Publius Victor enumerates sixteen warm, and 856 cold baths, besides 16,000 reservoirs and ponds, where people might learn to swim. The private dwellings of nearly all classes of citizens were likewise cooled and embellished by artificial water-falls, and every house of consequence had a variety of baths. Seneca, it will be recollected, congratulates his philosophy on the circumstance of his possessing only one bath, though a rich man.

The modern Romans have no partiality for the salutary luxury of bathing. The baths of Caracalla and Dioclesian lie in unheeded ruins. Still the Romans regard an abundance of water as the proudest boast of their city, and the numerous fountains of Rome form one of its most powerful attractions in the esteem of every visitor.

"This abundance of water," says Kotzebue, "this vivid motion, this rushing and foaming, this countless multitude of Tritons and Naiads, who, in almost every open place, are seen either throwing the water high up in the air, or pouring it in gurgling streams from their urns, give an extraordinary appearance of life and bustle to the city, and, in some degree, make amends for, and relieve the eye from, the dulness occasioned by the want of inhabitants. The fountain *Termini*, called, likewise, *Aqua Felix*, is embellished with christian sculpture: for here a colossal Moses, with his wonder-working wand, causes the water to flow from a rock.*

"The water in the fountain of the *Campo Vaccino* flows into an immense basin of oriental granite, which served for the same purpose in ancient times. The fountain Paulina surpasses all others, with respect to the abundant supply of water, which was first brought thither by Trajan. At present, it is splendidly decorated with arcades, columns, and an attic, with water-spouting dragons, and pompous inscriptions. The materials were taken from the ancient forum of Nerva. Bernini has overloaded the fountain in Navona's place, with an heterogeneous profusion of ornaments; rocks, obelisks, sea-

* Two beautiful lions, of Egyptian workmanship, are also placed here, emitting from their wide mouths thick streams of water.

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horses, lions, and the like. Here, too, are found colossal statues of the Ganges, the Nile, the Rio de la Plata, and the Danube.

“The fountain near the bridge of Sixtus is smaller, but incomparably more beautiful in its simplicity; it is only a niche between two Ionic columns; but a broad undivided stream falls from a considerable height, first into a smaller, and then into a larger basin. The Tortoise Fountain, in Mattei-place, is a pretty plaything; four figures of bronze are placing four tortoises on the edge of the basin, from which rises a *jet-d'eau*. In Barbarina-place there are two fountains by Bernini; *here* dolphins and tritons squirting out water; and *there* even three *bees*, which are setting on a muscle-shell!” Such is the account given by the celebrated Kotzebue.

The waters of the Fountain of Trevi are clear, pleasant, and salubrious; and are supposed, by the modern Romans, to possess the faculty of strengthening and revivifying debilitated constitutions. The fountain is supplied by a spring termed *Aqua Virgine*, concerning which, the following legend is familiar with the inhabitants of the Campagna:—Some Roman soldiers, overcome with thirst, accosted a peasant girl whom they accidentally met, and requested her to direct them to a spot, where they might find water so cold, that it would instantly allay the anguish of a parched throat, and yet so salubrious, that the heated traveller might drink of it with impunity. This rustic girl had discovered, in a sequestered nook, a spring of water so grateful and inspiriting, that she thought it likely to answer the wishes of the soldiers, if any water could possibly possess the combined qualities for which they expressed a desire. To this favourite spring she accordingly conducted them; and the thirsty soldiers were so charmed with the draught which gushed forth in luxurious plenty from the recess, that they informed their comrades of the secret treasure. The new spring soon attracted public curiosity, and *Marcus Agrippa** constructed a magnificent aqueduct, by means of which he conveyed the stream of *Aqua Virgine* to his immense baths in the city of Rome.

The city was, for a long time, supplied with this famous water, the source of which is on the Salona estate, about eight miles from Rome. At length, either

* M. Agrippa is said to have formed 700 reservoirs, to have erected 105 fountains, and 130 *castella*, or conduits, in the space of one year.

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by accident or design, the conduits were ruined; but Trajan caused them to be effectually repaired with all possible expedition. At that period, the fountain was near the baths of Agrippa.

During the ferocious incursions of the northern tribes, all that was great and venerable in the western empire shared in one common devastation. "Tower and temple" mingled in indiscriminate ruin, and to accident alone are the Romans indebted for those monuments of national art and glory, which survived the tasteless fury of the invaders. Among other works of splendour and utility, the aqueduct which supplied Rome with the pure water discovered to the soldiers by the peasant girl, experienced the barbarity of the conqueror, and was completely destroyed. The regret of the Romans, on this occasion, may be readily apprehended, when we remember the peculiar delicacy of their taste, in regard to water, both for the table and the bath.

Yet did the Romans suffer themselves to be deprived of the Aqua Virgine for many ages. It was somewhat more than a thousand years after the destruction of the aqueduct, that Nicolas V. a pope who certainly deserves the admiration of posterity for his public spirit, and the magnificence of his schemes, restored a conveyance for the stream, and constructed a copious fountain. The solid benefit conferred on the community by an action like this, cannot be too highly praised. Vanity may lead to the elevation of an obelisk, and the love of posthumous celebrity may prompt the erection of a pantheon; but an aqueduct is calculated to pour unostentatious comfort into the cottage, while it supplies the baths of the palace, and, as such, entails the reputation of genuine patriotism on the head of him that forms it.

The renovated fountain received the name of *Trivia*, from the circumstance of it discharging itself into three places; but the colloquial familiarity of the Romans soon altered the appellation to that of *Trevi*; the learned acceded to the wishes of the populace, and Trevi is now considered the due name of the fountain.

There are few great works which are, in the combined points of ornament and utility, the performance of a single hand. Nicolas appears to have been, in this instance, merely intent on adding to the *convenience* of the Romans. It remained for another papal ruler to embellish the undertaking, and to raise such an edifice as should induce the spectator to pause with delight before the

FOUNTAIN OF TREVI.

fountain, though he might be personally indifferent to the advantages derived from its waters.

The character of Clement XII. does not occupy a distinguished place for liberality in the opinion of mankind, yet this pope repaired the aqueduct of Trevi, at an immense expense, and added the magnificent front projected by Nicolo Salvi. It is the misfortune of the ecclesiastical governors of Rome to attain the pontificate only at so advanced an age, that the cares of government are usually too mighty for the infirmities of nature; and the suffering pontiff merely lays the foundation of structures which death prevents his completing. It was thus with the twelfth Clement. He fondly hoped to plant his fame on the ornamented front of Trevi, after expending vast sums on improving the aqueduct, but the fatigues of his elevated office were too weighty for his years, and he left it to the gratitude of posterity to remember, without the sculptor's aid, that it was one of the great wishes of his pontificate to advance the accommodation, and increase the ornaments, of the papal city. Clement XIII. happily inherited the spirit of his predecessor. Under this pope, the buildings of the fountain were decorated with statues, and *bassi-relievi*, together with columns of the Corinthian, Ionic, and Composite orders.

The fountain joins to the palace of the *Duke di Poli*,* the front of which is characteristically embellished to complete the display of the scene.

For the circumstances of our description we refer to the plate, and, considering the reader as a spectator, proceed to observe, that the figure in the centre represents Neptune, standing on a marine car, which is drawn by two sea-horses, guided by Tritons. The one of these groups is distinguished by Rage and Impetuosity: the other is marked by Temperance and Tranquillity: a judicious method of expressing the well-known character of the sea, a perpetual interchange between storms and calms. *Bracci* was the sculptor of these groups. The statue on the right of Neptune represents abundance; and that on the left is figurative of Health: both were executed by *Valle*. The basso-relievo on the right is descriptive of Marcus Agrippa, in the act of contemplating a plan of the aqueduct, and was performed by *Bergondi*. That on the left perpetuates the story of the discovery of the spring; the girl is represented guiding the thirsty soldiers to the inestimable pool. This elegant production

* In this place were some fine paintings. On the right of the fountain is the oratory of St. *Mary in Via*, famous for the picture on the altar representing the Holy Family.

FOUNTAIN OF TREVI.

is by *Grossi*. Four statues surmount the columns. The first, bearing a cornucopia, is by *Corsini*; the second represents Fertility, and is by *Ludovisi*; the third, with the grapes and bowl, symbolical of Autumn, was executed by *Queirolo*; and the last, crowned with flowers, is the work of *Pincoletti*. On the top of the building are the pope's arms, supported by two Fames, the labour of *Benaglio*.

From this assemblage of objects a very striking effect is produced. The plan of the building, which forms a back-ground to the chief emblematical figures of the fountain, is grand, yet chaste; and displays a vein of architectural genius worthy of Rome in the brightest day of its reputation for art and taste.

It is objected by some, that the whole composition is faulty, inasmuch as it is connected with the walls of a palace; so that the spectator is perpetually tempted to suppose that the water issues from some of the compartments of the building. In reply to these cavillers, it is observed, that on whatever spot Neptune stands, there he can produce a spring; and that the same objection would appear of equal force if the fountain were seated in the midst of a large market-place.

Though the circumference of the fountain was, originally, grand and comprehensive, it is to be regretted, that buildings have been suffered to accumulate in the neighbourhood, to the exclusion of much of the effect of this rare gem of modern architectural excellence.

In an age like this, when Rome experiences the desolating consequences of a fresh subjection, her buildings remain almost her only boast. Among these, the decorations of the Fountain of Trevi will long excite the admiration of every visitor.



CONWAY CASTLE

London, Published by W.H. Wyatt, Decr 3rd 1869.

Historical Description

OF THE

CASTLE OF CONWAY,

NORTH WALES;

WITH

AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE ILL-FATED LLEWELYN.

THE river Conway is, perhaps, for its length, one of the noblest streams in Europe. It extends but twelve miles, yet, in the course of that progress, receives the aid of so many brooks and rivulets from the adjacent mountains, that it is enabled to sustain vessels of considerable burden. According to Camden and his early commentator, valuable pearls were formerly found in these waters. One is particularly noticed which weighed seventeen grains, "and was distinguished, on the convex side, by a fair round spot, of a cornelian colour, exactly in the centre." These pearls were usually found in large black muscles denominated by the vulgar *deluge-shells*.

The present town of Conway, or Aber-Conway, sprang from the ruins of the ancient *Conovium*, mentioned by Antoninus, the remembrance of which is still preserved by a small village called *Kaer-Rhun*, or *Kaer-Hen*, which term signifies the *old city*.

The Castle owes its foundation to Edward I. though it is certain that the ancient Welsh princes had an abode very near the site of the building.* It is not easy to ascertain the description of the original palace; yet, from an account of the household officers attached to the dignity of the mountain-

* In the latter periods of the independancy of Wales, the princes usually resided at Diganwy, on the water of Conway; and at Caer Segont, near Caernarvon.

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sovereign, we may be enabled to form some idea of the construction of an antique Welsh residence of the first class; and the subject is so curious, that we cannot refrain from enumerating the chief of these domestic attendants on insulated and ferocious princely splendor.

The officers of the household, and twelve gentlemen, whose tenure of land was by military service, composed the royal guard, and were mounted on horses furnished by the king.*

The *master of the palace* possessed authority over every person of the household. He received a share of all military plunder, and on three festivals of the year, was obliged to deliver the harp into the hands of the domestic bard.

The *domestic chaplain* said grace, celebrated mass, and was consulted in all matters of conscience. He was also secretary to the king and to the principal court of justice.

The *steward of the household* managed the inferior domestics, and received as perquisites the skins of all animals, "from an ox to an eel," killed for the use of the kitchen. He drank, but did not eat, at the king's table; and had the office of arranging the servants in their proper seats in the hall of the palace.

The *master of the hawks* was required to sleep near the birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept, and not in the palace, lest they should be injured by the smoke. The king owed three services to the master of the hawks, on the day when he took a curlew, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horse of this officer while he took the bird; held the stirrup while he mounted and dismounted; and that night honored him, likewise, with three different presents.

The *judge of the palace* presided over the principal court of Wales. It is said that he always lodged in the hall of the palace, and that the cushion on which the king sat by day, served the judge for a pillow at night. On his appointment, he received an ivory chess-board from the king. The tongues of all animals slaughtered for the household were presented to the judge of the palace.

* This small band appears the only resemblance of a regular force maintained at any period by the ancient princes.

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The *master of the horse* was lodged near the royal stables and granary, and it was his duty to make an equal distribution of provender among the royal horses.

The *chamberlain* was obliged to eat and sleep in the king's private apartment. If a person walking in the king's chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be slain, the laws gave no compensation for his death.

The *domestic bard* was obliged, at the queen's command, to sing in her own chamber; but in a low voice, that the court might not be disturbed in the hall. He accompanied the army when it marched into an enemy's country.

An *officer* was appointed to *command silence*. This he performed first by his voice, and afterwards by striking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domestic chaplain usually sat.

The *master of the hounds* was accounted so important a personage (though usually lodged in the kiln-house, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs) that he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature only before he put on his boots in the morning.

The *door-keeper* slept near the gate-house, and was obliged to kneel when he entered the presence of the monarch.

The *cook* always carried the last dish out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king, who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

The *sconce-bearer* held wax-tapers when the king sat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

The queen had likewise numerous attendants, among whom may be noted:—

The *chaplain*, who sat opposite to his royal mistress at table.

The *chamberlain*, who “kept the queen's ward-robe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be at hand when wanted.”

The *woman of the queen's chamber*, who “always slept so near her mistress as to be able to hear her speak, though in a whisper.”

These and the various other officers connected with the household were all called together by the sound of a horn.

From this brief survey of the usual establishment of an ancient Cambrian prince, it would appear, that though the construction of his abode was simple, it was not altogether inconsequential. Indeed, the revenue of the

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princes appear to have been somewhat disproportionate, compared with the resources of the country. The inhabitants of Anglesea, for instance, had been in the custom of yielding 1,000 marks annually to the exigencies of the Welsh government; but Edward, on conquering the country, readily admitted the exorbitancy of the contribution, and reduced it to the yearly sum of £450. It may be also observed, that the ancient princes were at little personal expense in the erection, or embellishment of their places of residence. According to the code promulgated by *Howel Dha*, the king had the power of compelling his subjects to build castles for the purposes of royalty. But this was only a small part of the regal prerogative;—so totally, through all the branches of humiliation, were the people the slaves of their ferocious sovereign, that surely the boasted freedom for which they fought against their Saxon invaders was a chimera as delusive and fantastic as those quivering shadows thrown across the mountains at moon-light, which the warm imagination of the natives embodies in the shape of tutelar fairies!

Perhaps the most beneficial of the monarch's privileges was that which enabled him to compel his people to erect fortified palaces; and the country might certainly have prolonged its independance to a much later period if the prince had been more anxious to exert his prerogative in this respect. Yet Wales was not destitute of fortresses* when it was entered by Edward I. These were by no means so formidable as might have been expected from the mountainous character of the country, but still they were found very important obstacles to the progress of the invader.

Few warlike operations display more profound sagacity than those of Edward in regard to Wales. He anticipated every contingency, and was as well prepared for defeat as for victory. Every stage of a retreat was specified, and he rebuilt the castle of Flint, and more strongly fortified that of Rhuddlan, as places of defence, should he be obliged to recede from the arms of the Welsh on the occurrence of any military casualty.

Far different was the conduct of the devoted Llewelyn. Rude, and dis-

* So early as the year 876, in the reign of Roderic, the chief defiles of Wales were guarded by strong fortifications. It is probable that intestine commotions and a continual warfare with the English, had prevented these being preserved in a state adapted to national defence.

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dainful of art, he trusted entirely to the natural security of his country, content to retire, like the wolf, to the shelter of the cavern on the approach of a foe. The historians of that age paint with admiration the attachment of the Welsh to their national customs, and the native writers of later periods cannot refrain from adding to the commendation bestowed by their precursors; but every liberal mind must deplore that infatuated contempt of foreign improvements which led the mountaineers of Llewelyn's day to form themselves in a desperate association at the mouth of a natural fastness, and to oppose their persons, with a disdain of military regularity, to the skilful attacks of their opponents. It is impossible to read, without emotion, the fate of the gallant Llewelyn, while we dislike the bigotry of his habits. The adventures of this unfortunate prince would, indeed, narrated at length, form a romantic tale of deep interest. His life commenced amidst the ruin of his family. Gryffydd, the father of Llewelyn, was betrayed by his brother into the hands of the English king, by whom he was committed a prisoner to the Tower of London. Gryffydd was in every respect calculated to please the temper of the Welsh nation; he was comely in person, and of a bold and enterprising disposition. Unable to brook the tediousness of confinement, he determined on making a desperate effort for his own freedom and that of his native country. Having evaded the vigilance of his keepers, he, with the assistance of his wife and child, who were the partners of his imprisonment, fastened together pieces of the tapestry of his chamber, the sheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table. With this aid, he endeavored to let himself down from the window of the turret in which he was confined. But his weight was too mighty for the slender line, and he fell into the Tower ditch, with so much violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body!—Poetry itself can scarcely picture a circumstance of greater distress.—Fancy traces, with acute throbs of sympathy, the wife and little son lending their feeble aid to strengthen every knot of that motley fabrication on which a husband's and a father's life was to depend. It places them at the turret window, watching with dreadful apprehension, every inch of the adventurer's descent. But, when the line is rent asunder, the husband dies, the wife sinks pale and senseless to the floor, while the frightened child kneels by her, and bathes her with innocent tears,—the imagination turns

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sickening from the spot, willing to fly even to the tumult of war for relief from so horrible a scene of domestic misery.

The administration of Llewelyn commenced with fraternal warfare. He took possession of the principality in conjunction with his brother Owen. But this prince, enduring a partner in the throne, engaged in hostilities against Llewelyn, and a battle was fought, in which Owen was defeated and taken prisoner.

A more potent rival, Edward, the son of Henry of England, shortly took the field against the Welsh prince. Edward spent his youth in contests with the principality, and though often victorious, was once beaten: a circumstance which is supposed to have made a deep impression on his mind, and to have caused a great portion of that personal hatred with which he is known to have regarded the Prince of Wales.

Llewelyn found a powerful ally in Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who openly rebelled against the English king. This nobleman offered his daughter, then resident with her brother in France, in marriage to the Welsh prince, and Llewelyn eagerly accepted the alliance. The lady was then too young for the solemnization of the nuptials, but after a time she quitted France for the purpose of fulfilling the wish of her father. Llewelyn was the heir of ill-fortune;—Eleanor de Montfort was taken prisoner, near the isles of Scilly, by four ships from Bristol, and was conveyed to the court of England. Llewelyn offered an immense ransom for the captive beauty; but Edward was too well convinced of the importance of his acquisition to resign Eleanor, without the prince made such concessions as were likely to promote the growing power of the English. Patriotism prevailed over love in the breast of Llewelyn, and he flew to arms with all the ardor of a knight in romance. But at the best, his troops were only calculated to act on the defensive; many of his nobles likewise proved treacherous; and, at length, necessity compelled him to agree to those arbitrary terms which love had proved insufficient to enforce. His union with the daughter of de Montfort now took place, and the nuptials were celebrated at Worcester, the English king and queen gracing the ceremony with their presence. Llewelyn's happiness, however, was but of short duration; in less than three years he consigned to the tomb his amiable princess, and no sooner was she entered

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than he became again the subject of refractory projects. The vengeance of Edward was easily provoked, and that war between the nations ensued which effectually terminated the reign of the Welsh princes.

We have already mentioned Llewelyn's impolitic confidence in the mountainous character of his country. In one of the most remote recesses of Wales he was, however, beset by his enemies. Still he felt secure from sudden danger, while a bridge which commanded the passage of an adjacent river was in the possession of his troops. But the English, though with extreme peril, forded the stream, and burst on him in the midst of his fancied safety.

So perfectly free was he from apprehension, that when attacked he was unarmed and attended by one esquire only. In this defenceless state he waited for some chieftains, with whom he had preconcerted a meeting in a small grove. On the first assault of the English, his esquire came to inform him that he heard a violent tumult at the bridge. The prince eagerly asked if his people were in possession of the bridge: and being told that they were, he calmly replied, "he then would not stir from thence, though the whole power of England was on the other side of the river." This confidence lasted only for a moment; the grove being instantly surrounded by the enemy's horse. Beset on every side, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as secretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops he had stationed on a neighbouring mountain, who were eagerly expecting the return of their prince. In making this attempt he was discovered, and closely pursued by Adam de Francton, who, perceiving him to be a Welshman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his spear into the body of the prince, being unarmed and incapable of defence. This being done, regardless of the person he had wounded, Francton instantly joined his own party.

Llewelyn lay for a long time unheeded on the ground. When persons at length approached, he had just life enough remaining to ask for a priest. A white friar chanced to be present, and he administered the last offices of the church to the expiring prince. Never, never, was man so universally regretted by his countrymen.—Each Cambrian exclaimed, as he mournfully passed his tomb—Oh! Llewelyn! the loss of *thee* is the loss of all!

As soon as Edward had obtained a complete triumph over the arms of the

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principality, and had satiated his rage in an unmanly exultation over the lacerated body of Llewelyn,* he proceeded, with politic caution, to take the steps most likely to secure the obedience of his new subjects. Convinced that the interior of the Snowdonia would ever form the chief dependence of the Welsh, he erected three strong holds in the immediate vicinity of that alpine district. These were the Castles of Caernarvon, Beaumaris, and Conway. Edward was too prudent to infringe hastily on the private rights of the conquered. It is certain that he procured the land on which he built Beaumaris Castle, by means of an equitable exchange, and it is, therefore, probable, that he was not less just in regard to the site of his two other fortresses.

Conway Castle was built in the year 1284, on a rocky hill, at the base of which flows "the chief of Welsh rivers." It is one of the most magnificent military ruins in the island, and was designed with taste and regularity, as well as constructed in so massive a way as to be nearly impregnable to the utmost art then practised in military operations. Edward, who was its founder, had imbibed a considerable taste for architecture in the course of his eastern expedition, and this castle is a proof of the munificence with which he was anxious to embody his conceptions.

Eight round projecting towers ornament and protect the building. On the top of each was placed a lofty and elegant turret, which must have bestowed, when the edifice was complete, an admirable air of lightness on the whole. Little remains entire on the inner side, except the fragments of stair-cases in most of the towers, and one room, 130 feet in length, which is adorned with nine Gothic windows and a large chimney-piece. This was probably the hall of state, in which Edward once sat enthroned to receive the homage of the

* A prophecy of Merlin was said to prognosticate that Llewelyn should one day wear the crown of Brutus. To ridicule this prophecy, the head of the prince, when separated from his body, was ornamented with a silver circle, and placed in the pillory on Cheapside. An aged soothsayer had likewise foretold, when the Welsh commenced their last war with the English, that Llewelyn should ride through Cheapside, with a diadem on his head. In derision of this augury, the blood-stained head of the fallen prince was encircled with a wreath of ivy, and in that condition it was carried through the streets of London by a horseman, who bore it aloft on the top of his spear.

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subjugated chieftains. It is impossible to behold the dilapidation to which the building is now subject, without experiencing a sentiment of regret. In vain the spectator seeks consolation from reflecting that the entire harmony which prevails between the two countries renders politically inconsequential the decay of every fortress once necessary to the preservation of tranquillity. The ruin of architectural grandeur, the impending dissolution of a structure erected by one of the best of our chivalrous sovereigns, compel a sigh, in contempt of every sedate and rational motive of satisfaction.

The greater part of the town of Conway was built by Edward I. and a front stone in many of the houses still bears the date of 1270. Edward made this dependant town a free borough, when he passed a Christmas there, in great splendour, with Eleanor his queen, in 1284. The town is surrounded by a high wall, in which twenty-six embattled round towers are placed at regular distances: the whole are now overgrown with a profusion of ivy.

The distant view of the Castle, and the town, with its embattled wall, (now that age has deprived these of their terrors,) are sublime beyond the power of description. So august, indeed, is the spectacle, that it seems to rise superior to the character of artificial compositions, and almost claims a share of the admiration due only to works of nature. One great cause, perhaps, of the peculiar effect which this venerable Castle produces on the beholder, arises from the circumstance of it assimilating with the objects around. It rises its majestic head in the neighbourhood of a range of mountains which appears formed to be the theatre of martial enterprise. All is alike vast, grand, and impressive. Still, at intervals, soft tufts of wood ameliorate the scene, thrown into a thousand beautiful varieties of light and shade at different periods of the day.

Though the exterior of Conway is so truly grateful to the spectator, the town itself is small and uninteresting. It formerly possessed a splendid monastery, which was the burial-place of the ancient Princess of Wales. According to Holinshed, this monastery occupied the site of the present Castle. It is certain that Edward removed the white monks of Conway to an abbey which he founded near Llanrwst.

A country subject, like Wales, to perpetual commotions, and the stage on which a gallant people struggled with enthusiastic ardor for national independence, scarcely contains a spot that is not rendered interesting by a connection

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with historical legend. In this respect the neighbourhood of Conway merits conspicuous mention. On the banks of the river which washes the Castle, wandered those early princes whose obstinate valour baffled the efforts of the hitherto-victorious Romans; here Edward fixed the chief quarters of his invading army; and here resided the principal of those patriotic natives who remained faithful to their prince to the last, and who chose to die amidst their mountains rather than become tributary to the sway of an alien sovereign.

Passing over the uncertain tales of very early periods, we first notice a battle fought in the neighbourhood of Conway in the year 880. At this time the sovereignty of Wales was divided between two brothers, Anarawd and Cadelh, the sons of Roderic the Great. The remains of the Strath-clwyd Britons, severally harassed by the Saxons, Danes, and Scots, in a conflict with whom they had lately been deprived of Constantine their king, applied to Anarawd, Prince of North Wales, for an asylum in his dominions. The Saxons now occupied the country between the Dee and the Conway. Anarawd regarded these neighbours with unavoidable dislike, and readily granted the Strath-clwd applicants as much land between the two rivers as they could obtain and preserve by the power of the sword.

Under the conduct of Hobart, these northern Britons accordingly entered Wales; and, equally goaded forward by revenge and interest, dispossessed the Saxons, and took possession of their lands. But they did not remain long free from interruption. Eadred, Duke of Mercia, mortified with the disgrace his arms had suffered, speedily made preparations to recover the district which had been wrested from him. The Britons, in consequence of the threatened attack, removed their cattle and effects beyond the river Conway.

Inflamed by the hostile approach of his hereditary enemies, Anarawd instantly collected an army, and marched to the support of his allies. The adverse forces met at Cymryd, about two miles from the present town of Conway, and a bloody engagement commenced. The contest was long and arduous, but the arms of the North-wallian prince were finally triumphant, and the Saxons retreated hastily to Mercia, whither they were followed by the conqueror. Anarawd, with honest exultation, called the achievement of the day by the name of Dial Rodri (or Roderic's Revenge) in allusion to the death of his father, who fell in a recent action between the Welsh and Saxons.

The scenery contiguous to the spot on which this memorable battle was

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fought, is romantic, wild, and awful ; mountains of tremendous height, columns of thick and gloomy wood, and impetuous cataracts, unite to form precisely such an appalling spectacle as a Salvator would be supposed likely to choose for the back-ground of a sanguinary contest.

King John waged a successful war against the principality, in the year 1212. Yet Joan, his daughter, was the wife of Llewelyn Ap Jorweth, Prince of North Wales.

Abandoned by the most weighty of his chieftains, and closely pressed by the potent army of the English, Llewelyn retired into the Snowdonia, while John passed the Conway and encamped on the river side. Imprisoned among his sterile mountains, the prince was totally unable to protect even that part of his territory which lay immediately contiguous to the place of his retreat. Intent on inflicting an exemplary vengeance, King John dispatched some troops, with orders to destroy the town of Bangor. Little resistance was made, and the town was immediately set on fire. The bishop was rescued from the flames and made prisoner.* At this juncture, when fire and bloodshed were carried into the heart of his country, Llewelyn perceived but one measure likely to preserve his subjects and himself from destruction. All his hope rested on the relationship between his Princess and the invader ; and that illustrious lady readily undertook the office of mediatrix. Penetrating to the tent of her royal father, on the banks of the Conway, she fell prostrate at his feet, and conjured him by every tender tie that is wont to join the interests of parent and child, to grant a pardon to her husband and to recal those dreadful ministers of vengeance who, even then, were revelling in the blood of innocence.

The king was not proof against her tears and intreaties. The existence of a nation depended on her eloquence, and the pathetic tones with which she appealed to the tenderest feelings of his bosom were irresistible. He granted her suit, and from the banks of the Conway issued those orders of recal which gave life to despairing thousands.

It must be evident that the memory of the Princess Joan deserves the utmost respect which it is in the power of the principality to bestow. A stranger would suppose that her ashes were guarded with religious zeal, and

* He was afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks.

CASTLE OF CONWAY.

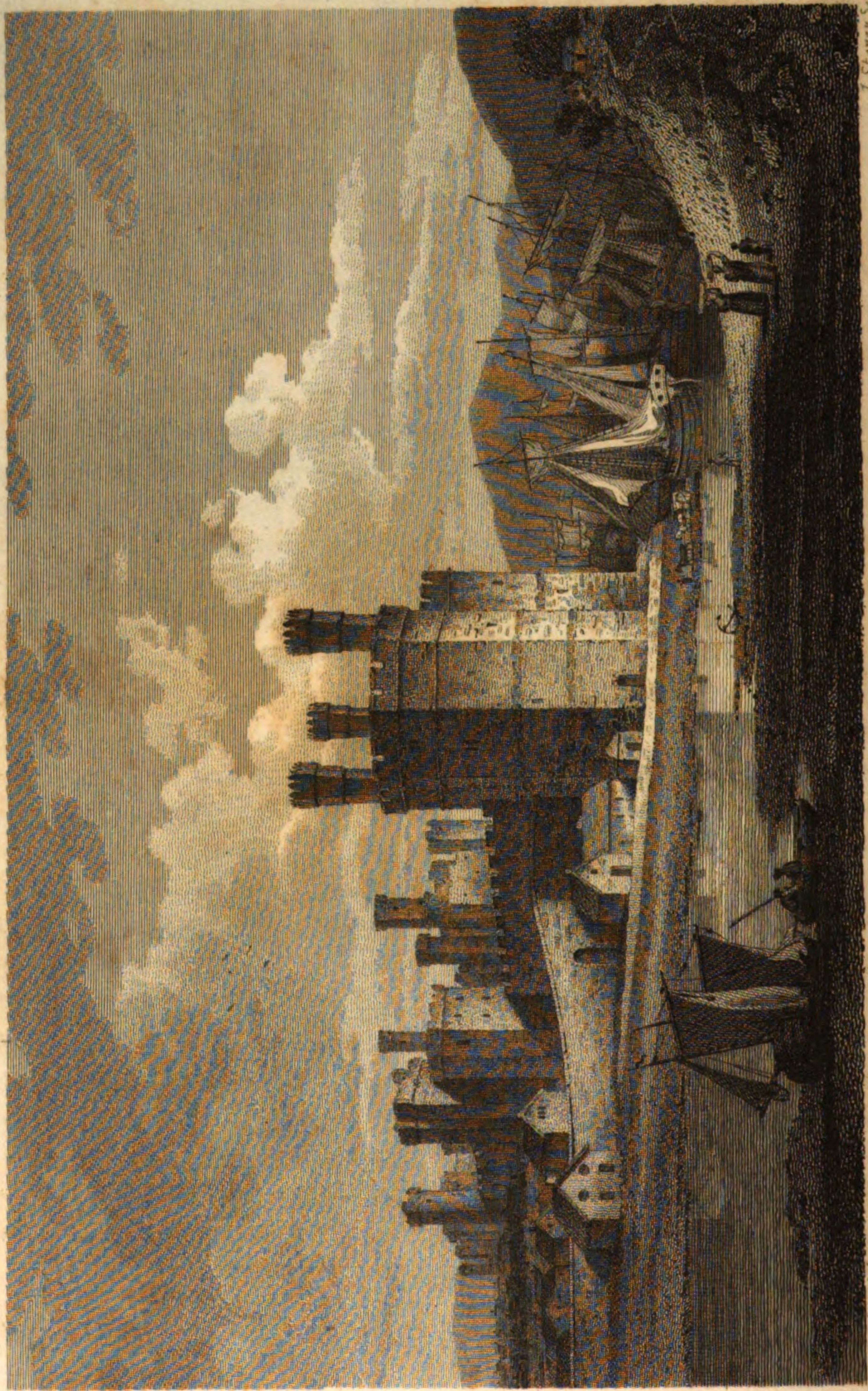
that a costly monument perpetuated the gratitude of those whom she had rescued from conflagration and slaughter. How different is the fact!—A stone coffin, identified as that which formerly inclosed the remains of the princess, is now to be seen in the grounds belonging to the mansion of Baron-hill, the seat of Lord Bulkeley. This coffin, before it was placed in its present situation, had been used as a trough for the watering of horses!

In the reign of Henry III. a melancholy tragedy took place on the borders of the Conway. The English proving victorious in a skirmish with a party of the natives, pillaged the Abbey of Conway of its books and furniture, and set fire to the offices. Enraged to madness on beholding the mausoleum of their princess subject to the licentiousness of the foe, the Welsh, inspirited by the strains of their bards, rushed down the mountains, and attacked the plunderers with prodigious impetuosity. The English were encumbered with spoil, and fell an easy prey to the fury of their opponents. Many were slain on the spot; others plunged into the river to escape their pursuers; and a considerable number were taken prisoners. Those who surrendered were at first lodged in confinement; but the Welsh, on being informed that some lords of their nation had lately been put to death by the enemy, ordered all the prisoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and tearing their bodies to pieces, they threw them limb by limb into the waters of the Conway!

The Castle was the seat of contest at the commencement of the civil war under Charles I. Dr. John Williams, Archbishop of York, took possession of the fortress, in the king's name, and, after repairing the dilapidations, defended it with heroical perseverance. Nor would he at last deliver it up to the repeated attacks of the parliamentary forces, until he received the express commands of his majesty to that effect.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Conway are many remains of Roman copper-works; and a round piece of copper has been found, somewhat resembling a cake of wax, on which was an inscription supposed to be the name of a merchant, or the direction of a correspondent at Rome to whom he transmitted the produce of his works.

A Roman Hypocaust was also discovered near the foot of the hill on which the Castle stands.



CARNARVON CASTLE

proof

Descriptive Account

OF

CAERNARVON CASTLE;

WITH

SOME REMARKS ON THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.

As there are peculiar subjects on which the fervid imagination of the poet delights to dwell, so there are favored situations in the expanded landscape of nature, where the historian rejoices to unfurl his scroll, and reflect the transports of his mind on the recording page. Hence we are informed, that when Gothic barbarism blackened the horizon, and involved England in nocturnal darkness, the bland spirit of liberty fled to the Cambrian mountains, whose summits were yet gilded with the declining orb. Thither the ancient Britons followed her, and there, for nine centuries, they gallantly defended her glorious cause, until the perfidious Edward, incapable of resisting the courage of her hosts, effected, by the intrigues of negociation, what he could never accomplish by deeds of valour. When the tyrant obtained possession of this country, he did not indulge the vain expectation of passive obedience and willing service from the brave inhabitants, who had been deluded by his artifices. To secure submission to his usurpation, he established forts and castles in various situations, with such a velocity, that they seemed rather to have started from the quarry by the influence of magic, than to have been the productions of human labour.

The Castle of Caernarvon, which is the subject of our present paper, was one of these fortresses; the work was performed by the peasantry, and the expence was borne by the nobility of the adjacent country.

CAERNARVON CASTLE.

We are informed by the Sebright MS. that the stupendous fabric was begun in the year 1283, and before the expiration of twelve months, was completed, with its drawbridges, ballia, mounts, and battlements. The structure is of the most elegant species of Norman-Gothic architecture; commanding, on one side, the straits of Menui and the Western Ocean; on the other, the hoary head of Snowden, and the magnificent scenery which surrounds the boldest feature in British landscape.

We know not whether the view be most impressive on "a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains," or when the sun be discerned sinking in the lap of the ocean, and the sable curtain of night is drawing round the mountain, while the fleecy clouds are yet hovering over the summit. Such are the views on which the artist will dwell with increasing rapture, while the moralist will ponder, with equal delight, on the tales of other times, recorded in the tuneful songs of Modred and Cadwvallo.

If the eye be directed to the west, and the frowning turrets of the castle, venerable in darkness, and dignified by the awful vicissitudes of time, be contrasted with the gay exhibition of the shipping, the activity of the harbour, the variable waters, glowing with the deep blush of the horizon, a mingled feeling is reflected on the mind, which constitutes the highest gratification.

The entrance is by a lofty gateway, perforating a stupendous tower, in the front of which appears a colossal statue of the conqueror, grasping in his right hand a dagger. The Eagle tower (which is the large polygonal edifice in our plate) was so named from the figure of that bird carved on the parapets; a design suggested by the surrounding scenery, where the feathered king held his ancient empire. The property of this fortress has been, for upwards of a century, in the crown, to which it devolved, after having belonged to the families of the Wynns, the Wins, the Buckleys, and the Mostyns.

The castle, situated on a sort of peninsula projecting into the bay of Caernarvon, was a place of considerable strength before the invention of gunpowder, which has rendered some of the most secure fortresses in elder times untenable for a single hour. A small hill rising at a short distance commands the building, from which it might be battered to a heap of ruins. We dare not say that this is the most beautiful military structure in the United Kingdom; but

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we may venture to affirm, that very few exceed it from the grace of the Gothic style, which the architect has blended with the work. Among the peculiarities, we noticed the heads of warriors, surmounting the battlements, which the statuary has imposed to give the appearance of a numerous garrison, and some of our readers will recollect a similar contrivance resorted to at Alnwick, in the county of Northumberland.

In one particular, this castle is destitute of the ornaments with which these ancient monuments are usually decorated; I mean, the numerous tribes of pendent parasites, rooted in the soil, generated by the decomposition of the materials of the building, or in the mould collected from the decay of the mosses. Yet the mosses themselves are, perhaps, on that very account, in greater perfection, tinging the varied surface of this antique edifice with all the colours of the rainbow; sometimes in the glowing radiance of the coral, at others, in the modest hues of the watery beam. In the woods, these weak and humble supplicants, for support and nourishment, wither the parent-arm by which they are protected; and the poet has provided a mighty guardian of the forest, to destroy the wily enemy.

———"From Jove I am the power
Of this fair wood, and live in oaken bower;
I nurse my saplings tall; and cleanse their rind
From vegetating filth of every kind."

But no hand, sacred or profane, is raised to rob the venerable pile of human art of these gay honors; the tendrils are permitted to expand, the full berry drops its mature fruit, and the feathered seeds are borne with the breeze.

The castle and town of Caernarvon are built on the Segontium Portum of the Romans, to the north of the promontory of Llyn, which is the Conganum of Ptolemy. Matthew, of Westminster, has recorded, that when Edward the First erected this castle, the body of the father of Constantine the Great, being found in the neighbourhood, was removed into the church of the great tower by the royal command.

Gray, in his Pindaric ode of the bard, thus beautifully describes the indignation of Wales, on the invasion of the 13th century:—

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"Ruin seize thee, ruthless king!

"Confusion on thy banners wait!

"Tho' fann'd by conquest's crimson wing,

"They mock the air with idle state.

"Helm, nor hawberk's twisted mail,

"Nor even thy virtues, tyrant, shall avail,

"To save thy secret soul from nightly fears,

"From Cambria's curse, from Cambria's tears."

Such were the sounds that o'er the crested pride

Of the first Edward, scatter'd wild dismay;

As down the steep of Snowden's shaggy side

He wound with toilsome march his long array.

The town of Caernarvon, from the natural advantages of its situation, is so completely protected, that the Castle may be considered as a citadel to a municipal fortress; and, no doubt, the place was intended by the founder for the establishment of an English colony, to humanize and polish the manners of the vagrant mountaineers.

It is well known that the unfortunate Edward the Second was born within the precincts of this Castle, and hence was called Edward of Caernarvon. The talents of his father were sometimes employed to promote the purposes of his ambition, and their brilliancy, on such occasions, was not uncommonly obscured by the artifices to which they were rendered subservient. The king was in Wales when Queen Eleanor was pregnant; he required her appearance at Caernarvon, and, with great difficulty, from her tender state, she arrived at the royal apartments in the Castle. Edward knew well the human mind, and that the prejudices of the natives in favor of their countrymen would be in proportion to their unfitness for foreign intercourse. He had often endeavoured to appoint a prince who should be devoted to the British interest; but it was in vain that he had attempted to name a chief of English blood, for they rejected the proposal with disdain. It was equally fruitless to select one from the Welsh nobility, who were as wild as the forests and mountains they inhabited. The death of Llewelyn, and of his brother Gryffith, had put the English crown into the possession of the whole of Wales, but the acquisition was precarious, until a prince was appointed who should be a slave to Edward. His habit of intrigue suggested an expedient; he assembled the chiefs of the

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country, and artfully complimented them for the confidence they had reposed in him, by assigning to him the nomination of a prince who should attain the highest rank in their country, adding, that he would immediately proceed to the appointment, in consequence of the authority with which he was invested. The nobility, with common consent, promised implicit obedience on this single condition, *which they would never abandon*, that the prince he named should be a native of their own mountains.

Edward instantly agreed; he promised to nominate a chief who was not only born in Wales, but who was wholly unacquainted with the English language, and on whose life and manners no one could cast the slightest imputation. He then named his son Edward, who, a few hours before, had been born within the castle, and for this express purpose the queen had encountered the dangers of her journey.

It was not long before revenge was taken for this insult. We are informed by Stowe, that in 1294, the castle was "brent," and that a great number of English perished within its walls. But there is scarcely a fortress in the island which has been so little exposed to military depredations. The natives could never consider this artificial bulwark as a valuable acquisition to protect them from foreign hostility, since nature furnished them, in their rocks and forests, with an impenetrable barrier. For nearly three centuries, the most sanguinary in the annals of British history, this remote fortress was unimpaired by the havoc of war, and during the last civil contest, when the town and castle were held for King Charles, on the 2d of June, 1646, it was peaceably surrendered into the hands of the agents of parliament.

The town and castle had various privileges conferred upon them by Edward of Caernarvon, which were confirmed down to the time of Elizabeth. A merchant's guild was likewise established there, which was converted into a sanctuary, that trenched immediately on the authority of the mountain-lords in the neighbourhood. It was enacted, that if any bondsman belonging to this guild, having lands, and paying scot and lot, dwelt in the town for a year and a day, he could not be claimed by his lord.

The princes of Wales kept, in this strong hold, their chancery, exchequer, and justiciary, for North Wales. It is well known, that since the time of Edward of Caernarvon, the dignity of Prince of Wales has always been

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attached to the heir-apparent of the British throne. The antiquities that respect this structure, are supported on the respectable authority of the rolls of parliament; there appear the petitions of the workmen for the repairs executed; and there, also, we learn that, in the fourth of Edward IV., John Newbury was keeper of the artillery at this fortress, and gunner to all the castles in North Wales. It was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that Wales was incorporated with the kingdom of England.

Although, when we are constrained to speak of the hostile operations of Edward, and of the negociations which resulted from them, we must always feel indignation at his conduct; yet it will be recollected, that when adverting to the history of his civil government, we have before spoken with merited respect of our English Justinian. In this reign, not only corrupt magistrates and judges were rendered amenable to general law, but for an outrage against the prelate of Litchfield, the Prince of Wales was himself consigned to a public prison. The important clause was added to our Magna Charta that no tax should be levied on the people without the consent of their representatives in the House of Commons. In this reign, also, the statutes of Westminster were passed for securing the liberty of the subject, and those of mortmain were enacted to prevent the encroachments of the clerical order. He followed the steps of the great Alfred, and nothing seemed to be wanting to the complete re-establishment of English liberty, but the abolition of military tenures, which was effected under Charles II. for to this profligate prince we are indebted for what Blackstone denominated "the theoretical perfection of public law."



THE PALACE OF MADURA.

An Account

OF THE

PALACE OF MADURA,

WITH

REMARKS ON INDIAN HISTORY, &c.

ASIATIC history exhibits a twilight even of the infancy of the world, and something of a faint dawn may be perceived of those events which compose the first books of Moses. The Sanscrit literature, which the learned judge had the credit of first unveiling, presents many rays of historical truth, though time and a series of revolutions have obscured the light which we might reasonably have expected from a people so ingeniously diligent.—The popular tales of the Hindoos contain fragments of history, and disfigured, but valuable pictures of ancient manners and government; and even in their dramas we may find as many real characters and events as a future age might trace in our own plays, if all histories of England, like those of India, were irrecoverably lost.

A work, called the first Parana, is now clearly proved to contain a history of the Deluge, between which and the Mohammedan conquests the history of the Hindoo government is comprehended.

Enquiry has been pushed so far, that, upon the whole, not more than 800 or 1000 years are involved in the darkness of obscurity. Beyond this we cannot penetrate among ourselves; history itself, if it were not wanting, would be no sure guide, but, lost in the confusion of her own materials, would present us truth, inseparable from falsehood.

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The modern history of India properly commences with the Mogul conquests, of which there are ample accounts in the Persian writers; and, of late, there has been no want of them among ourselves.

This unhappy country seems, by a peculiar fate, never destined to be governed by its native rulers. Always falling under some foreign yoke, it has presented a kind of commonage, where the ambition of all the tyrants of the earth has exercised itself in turn. Alexander chose it as a scene of conquest and ravage, but beheld its riches and fruitfulness only to be compelled to resign them. Rome, though she held the rest of the world in servitude, could not throw her chains over a people too distant from the seat of empire. But the Mohammedans and Arabians were among those conquerors of whom our history is most certain; and to them succeeded the Moguls. The glory and riches of an Aurengzebe are not yet forgotten, but India, of late years, has undergone another species of conquest: her native provinces have been subdued by bodies of adventurous merchants, who employed arms in the service of avarice, and tarnished military glory by a species of counting-house rapine and mercantile fraud.

Almost the whole region of Hindoostan, in a province of which stands the subject of our present plate, is now British: the six principal states are reduced under our dominion. Madura is a city of Hindoostan, the capital of a province of the same name, under the government of a rajah, a kind of petty prince, like a German Elector or Prince Palatine. Madura is on the coast of Coromandel, the eastern coast of the peninsula of Hindoostan. It is a province of small extent, not exceeding sixty miles in length, and fifty in breadth. The city is fortified with square towers and parapets, well defended with cannon; it is about eighty miles S. S. W. of Tanjore, and, we believe, in alliance with the British government.

The palace of Madura is said to have been built by Tremal Naigh, Rajah of Madura. If this be not so well ascertained, it may yet be supposed to have been beautified and enriched by him, whose character, in the records of his country, stands high for the praises of magnificence and public spirit. He was a Hindoo prince of great extent of power, and affluence of riches; and his passion of magnificence and building was not unworthy of the sovereign of a country. It is to the credit of the native princes of India, that their ambition

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generally takes the course of public good ; their desire is to adorn their country with superb edifices and useful buildings, the records of their reign, the symbols of their wealth, and the memorials of their greatness.

As their institutions of religion form a complete system, and as all law emanates from them, they are strengthened and upheld by whatever can excite the reverence and secure the attachment of a superstitious multitude. Thus the temples which they consecrate to their several deities, are sumptuous and magnificent, and their architectural splendour may vie with that of any other people of the globe for grandeur and sublimity, though it is deficient in the inferior merit of order and correctness.

The palace, which is attributed to this prince, presents a great mixture of the Hindoo and Mohammedan styles of architecture, a circumstance very rare in this part of India, and not of so frequent occurrence as on the banks of the Ganges.

The Hindoos are a people of peculiar manners, preserved with inflexible obstinacy, and admitting no variety from the influx of new ideas, or intercourse with more polished societies. The impressions which they first receive they invariably maintain : no vicissitudes have changed, no conquests obliterated their characteristic marks : what they were from the beginning, we have no reason to suppose but they are at the present day. This obstinate bias against improvement must be charged upon the nature of their religious establishments. The dominion of religion extends to a thousand particulars, which, in other countries, are governed by the civil law, fashion, or taste. But, amongst the Hindoos, every practice of life is directed by religion ; it extends to their domestic economy, and regulates their food, their dress, their marriages, their professions, their friendships, and their enmities.

To this, as with the Turks, may, in a great measure, be imputed their slow progress in civilization, their barbarism, and national deterioration. Where religion enforces every thing, customs and manners will almost always remain the same ; because the sacredness of the institution hinders all suspicion that what religion enjoins can ever be capable of improvement. Thus no provision is made for the changes of manners and national character, which the example of nations improving around them might otherwise direct.

The influence of religion in every state should, doubtless, rather be aug-

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mented than decreased, because a portion of its spirit must always be inspired into good and wholesome laws. Morality is no such certain guide, and as law is no more than the direction of public morals, it is certain that it best attains its end of perfection, when it builds by a more correct and extensive model. But it is unnecessary that the protection of religion should extend to what is beneath the dignity of its office. The customs and ceremonies of a people are best left to taste and fashion, for if once religion fetters them down to any certain point, they have reached the summit of their improvement, and must stand still ever after.

Of the Palace of Madura little is now remaining but a heap of ruins, which still shew a magnificence in their decay, and remain as evidence of the former grandeur and sumptuousness of the edifice. The style of architecture cannot thus be traced, but a stupendous magnificence is easily discernible; something of a rude sublimity so common to all Eastern buildings, and an execution which seems to have defied all calculation of expence. The history of its founder, even were our materials more ample, is so like that of all other Indian princes, that it would be as tedious for us to select, as for our readers to peruse it. All have alike had their seraglios, and have been more or less prodigal in the pleasures of their harems; their subjects have been more or less sunk in poverty and degradation, and their ministers, in greater or less proportions, thinned by the bowstring. The history of one is the history of all. From the governments of the East are to be learned no lessons of policy or maxims of state; a prince is he who has gotten the military power into his hands, and uses it to support his tyranny, and punish insurrection.

These princes agree ill with each other, and England has found them, in her Eastern settlements, irrecoverably wedded to treachery and revolt; particularly when they are powerful and wealthy. It was a maxim of a late governor of India, 'that wherever there was money there was always treachery.' This is too true; for wherever there is the power to rebel, the inclination is seldom wanting.



HOUSE IN THE WOOD NEAR THE HAGUE. Aug.

S. P. 1840

Description

THE HOUSE IN THE WOOD,

NEAR THE HAGUE:

WITH
REMARKS ON THE HISTORY AND COMMERCIAL POLICY OF HOLLAND.

IN our description of the Stadt-House, Amsterdam, we gave some general remarks on the political state of Holland; we there took occasion to notice the peculiar attachment which the Dutch have for their native country; and we may now observe, with great propriety, that of all the problems which have been proposed for the investigation of the historian and the moralist, perhaps there is none which involves greater difficulty than the attachment man feels to his native land. Possessed of powers to travel to the most remote regions, of a constitution that can accommodate itself to every climate, while the fair fertility of nature invites him, and while the favors of political liberty are offered to him, he seems rooted to the earth where he first tasted the blessings of existence, however sterile the soil, and however tyrannical the authority under which it yields its reluctant produce.

From the earliest times the Batavi have been celebrated for their valour; and Tacitus has borne honorable testimony to the virtues of the intrepid Civilis. The gallantry of this people not only secured them from military oppression, but relieved them from tributary dependance. If the Roman legions presumed to penetrate into their country, they encountered the horrors of inundation, and sank, like a stone borne down by their cumberous armour; while the Batavians, accustomed to the watery element, glided over its surface, and saw their glittering victims prone and powerless beneath them.

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After the destruction of the Roman empire the Franks took possession of this country. Towards the close of the ninth century it was under the government of the Counts of Holland ; at the commencement of the thirteenth it devolved to the Earls of Hainault ; and 200 years afterwards, to the Dukes of Burgundy, from whom it passed to the House of Austria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with the Emperor Maximilian. In the year 1556, Philip the Second succeeded to the throne of Spain, and to the government of the Low Countries: previously to this period, Luther and Calvin had spread throughout the provinces, those principles which were inimical equally to ecclesiastical and political usurpation. The cold inflexible monarch, ignorant of the buoyancy of the mind of man when agitated by the sacred impulses of religion, had erected an Inquisition in the States, and violence and oppression in every form were introduced to extinguish the native spirit of the Batavian people. After alternate successes and defeats, in 1581, the States renounced their allegiance to the Spanish throne ; and three years posterior to this event, on the assassination of the Prince of Orange at Delft, by Balthazar Gerrard, the gallant Maurice of Nassau was elected Stadtholder. Soon after this period, the torch of war spread its destructive flame in almost every part of Europe ; but during the conflagration, the navy and commerce of this country had increased, and Grotius affirms that the provinces of Holland and Zealand alone sent yearly 70,000 mariners to sea, and were then the most formidable naval power on the continent. Before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, the United Provinces were acknowledged as a free republic, and for 200 years they have exhibited, before all Europe, the most extraordinary example of rapid success in the annals of mankind. While the historian reluctantly details the extension of empire by the havoc of war, and by the violation of the natural rights of man, he pursues with delight the thread of events that promote the repose of the human race, and that fortify the bulwarks of civic independence. It is, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that he dwells on the pacific occupations of commerce with the Dutch people. As soon as the commercial spirit appears, we discover a new genius her constant attendant: she softens the manners of society ; she unites men by the desire of supplying their mutual wants ; she establishes in every state an order of citizens, the guardians of

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public tranquillity, and bound, by their interest, to banish the fiend of war to the realms of barbarian empire.*

The Hague is the seat of government not only to Holland, but to the six adjacent provinces with which she is connected: its only fortification is a moat which surrounds it. The architecture of this village is in a superior style: rows of trees ornament the streets, and bridges of an elegant construction are thrown over the canals, which intersect the place in different directions. The palace of the Stadtholder, insulated by a fosse, is, at present, the situation where the two chambers of representatives convene, and where the Batavian Directory resides.

Five miles from the Hague is Loosduynen, where, in the year 1276, resided the Countess of Hennesberg, of whom the public credulity has been amused with a story sufficiently derogatory to intellect. We are told, that in consequence of the imprecation of a mendicant female, to whose tale of distress the countess was insensible, she was delivered of 365 children at a birth, which were all baptized by the venerable Guy, Bishop of Utrecht; and this history has been gravely recorded in the annals of the country, and its memory perpetuated by the talents of the artist. These monstrous impositions on the ignorance of mankind afford an instructive lesson: they show the degree to which the mind may be depressed by ignorance and barbarism, and they imperiously direct to the means of its improvement and exaltation.

The Nassau family possessed three palaces in the neighbourhood of the court. One of them is situated at the distance of ten miles from the Hague, at the beautiful village of Gravesande, in Houslardyck: it is esteemed one of the finest structures in the Low Countries. Another is two miles from the Hague, at the village of Ryswick, where the plenipotentiaries were convened, and the treaty of peace concluded in 1672. Within one mile is the *House in the Wood*, a name which bears with it sufficient distinction in a country that can boast of but two woods to interrupt the uniformity of its surface. Yet among these unincumbered fens the creative mind of Mr. Ireland can produce the exquisite varieties of picturesque embellishment. This palace in the wood is the subject of the engraving which accompanies these remarks, and

* Robertson, chap. 5, vol. i. p. 97.

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the style of architecture will be sufficiently explained by the design. It will be seen to be a regular edifice, composed of a centre and two uniform wings, built after the introduction of the Roman orders, but without any of the chaste embellishments appropriate to them, and in the ponderous method practised in the seventeenth century. A residence for a prince in the immediate neighbourhood of his national court, instead of the disgusting roofing, perforated with dormer windows, should have the air of a banqueting-house, and might be surmounted with a splendid ballustrade, and a central acroter, decorated with Persians and Cariatades, suited to the design of the structure as a temple of festivity. The dimensions of the house are insufficient for the accommodation of the ordinary establishment of a private nobleman. The Stadtholder was accustomed to reside here about two months in the year; and so little state was preserved, that the conference of the audience-chamber was often interrupted by the noise of the domestics pursuing their amusements, or engaged in their family duties. The Japan bedchamber and closet, beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl, are in a style of unusual elegance: the latter is an exact model of the Chinese. The saloon is in the octagon form, surmounted by a cupola, and provided with an orchestra.

On the confiscation of the property of the Prince of Orange, his collection of pictures (certainly one of the most valuable in Europe) was applied to a national gallery, and the suite of apartments in this palace was provided for their reception. The friends of order and decency will lament that while one part of this edifice is converted into a monument of national honor, another is devoted to the purposes of public disgrace. It is confidently asserted that a portion of the building is, at this day, a notorious brothel. The opponents of the fine arts have reasoned, with much plausibility, on their tendency to aggravate the sensual feeling: we fear their arguments will derive some strength from the vicinity of the lascivious descriptions of the artist, and this retreat of Cytherean indulgence.

The furniture of this house was confiscated and sold by French agents, but the pictures were preserved from the same fate by the interference of the native government. The gardens are, at present, a public promenade.

Contemplating the colossal proportions of France, and the comparative insignificance of Britain, we cannot avoid considering the independence of

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these islands as nearly affected by their commercial importance. As long as the trade of this country shall continue a supply to the public marine, we may hope for external safety and interior tranquillity; but if ever the time shall arrive that the navy of France shall ride triumphant in the British seas, then will the effulgence of British glory vanish for ever. It is on this account we explain the maxims of a great commercial people, for the imitation of our countrymen. Herodotus, in his Euterpe, describes the Thracians, Scythians, and other barbarous nations, as having little regard to the pursuits of trade; but he makes an exception to the Corinthians, who were indebted for their consequence to the superiority they preserved to this national prejudice. In modern times, the historian will be permitted to make the same honorable exception, we hope, to the English nation, but, unquestionably, it may be applied to the Batavian people; and to foster this spirit of industry, they have uniformly pursued the maxims of peace, rejecting the hostile temper of Labienus, "Let us talk no longer of tranquillity, for until Cæsar's head be cut off we can never think of peace."

To preserve the golden bough of commerce, the Dutch nation have not attempted to reconcile what Tacitus, in his elegant biography of Agricola, calls "*Res olim dissociabiles libertatem ac principatum*;" they considered, whether from correctness or prepossession we do not determine, that the trappings and pageantry of a military monarch rendered traffic disreputable, and they denominated the first officer of their government the servant, not the ruler, of the state. Corbulo, the general of the Emperor Claudius, assigned to this people a code of laws, a magisterial body, and a senate. That form of government they have imitated in their modern institutions. This enlightened officer, accurately acquainted with the country, ordered a canal of twenty-three miles extent to connect the rivers, to enlarge the sphere of commerce, and to prevent the fatal effects of marine inundation. The policy by which the Roman was guided they have brought to perfection: aquatic communication is not only established with every city or town, but even with every retired village, and almost with every private farm. This ingenious nation has recurred to their early history for nearly 2000 years, to learn the most advantageous means for the improvement of their country.

The two republics of Sparta and Holland form, in one point of view, a sin-

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gular coincidence: in another, an extraordinary contrast. Both of them were the most powerful states in the world, consisting of a like number of people, and a like extent of territory; but the power of the former arose from the want of commerce, that of the latter from the possession of it; yet they approach nearer to a resemblance than we are at first aware: the Spartan had no means of obtaining the luxuries which deprave the mind, and enervate the body; the Dutch people, possessing all the resources of oriental magnificence, and Epicurean gratification, had the virtue to resist the allurements to which Tyre, Carthage, Athens, and Rome, have successively fallen a willing sacrifice.

Another circumstance will not escape the observation of the curious enquirer. The two most flourishing empires on the globe, in the seventeenth century, were China and Holland; the former is averse to every species of intercourse beyond the limit of its own territories; the existence of the latter depends on its exterior commerce, and with a view to its cultivation, established an empire at the distance of 6000 miles, which exceeded the native governments of the east in interior strength, and rivalled them in external splendour.

The sources which contributed to the rapid success of Holland may be briefly explained. If, according to the maxim of the great Frederic, that government is the best, which is most wisely administered, Holland was, undoubtedly, the best government on the face of the earth. We admit, that under the name of a republic, it was, in reality, an aristocracy, but whatever its form, it was limited by general law; and it is an axiom in politics, that "A power, however great, when granted by law to an eminent magistrate, is not so dangerous to liberty as an authority, however inconsiderable, which he acquires from violence and usurpation. For, besides that the law always limits every power which it bestows, the very receiving it as a concession establishes the authority whence it is derived, and preserves the harmony of the constitution." *

Those who are acquainted with the enlightened principles of Sir Josiah Child, the founder of the British East India Company, are sensible of the connection which subsists between the rate of interest for money and the trade of every country; so that to determine the commercial wealth throughout

* Hume, Essay 10.

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Europe, it is only necessary to enquire what is the established compensation for the loan of money. The ingenuity of the Dutch discerned and applied this important discovery, and the rate of interest was reduced with them lower than in any other country.*

It has been complained by those who were ignorant, how easy it was for private opulence to support the weight of public taxation, that this burthen was heavier in Holland than in any other state; the fact is, the burthen was supported by the Dutch on their bags of gold; to its weight, therefore, the inhabitants were wholly insensible. The national impositions in the Seven Provinces, perhaps, never exceeded three millions in time of peace; and the profound policy of the government imposed this onus on personal wealth, to prevent any levy being raised from the exports and imports of the country. In consequence of these wise regulations, the riches of the eastern and western world were poured through the canal of Holland.

The spirit of toleration which prevailed, and the privileges which were granted to strangers of every persuasion and of every nation, seem not among the arrangements least conducive to the prosperity of that country; although the professed religion was Lutheran, yet in the city of Amsterdam there were more ecclesiastical edifices raised to the Catholic faith than to the established religion of the state.

We have often boasted in England of the equal distribution of property, yet the statute De Donis, and some other feudal remains, have interfered with the extensive diffusion of the national wealth. When the brave Hollanders indignantly hurled their chains on the heads of their oppressors, they rejected the vices of Gothic institution, and availed themselves of the political wisdom which appeared on the revival of letters in the sixteenth century; hence pro-

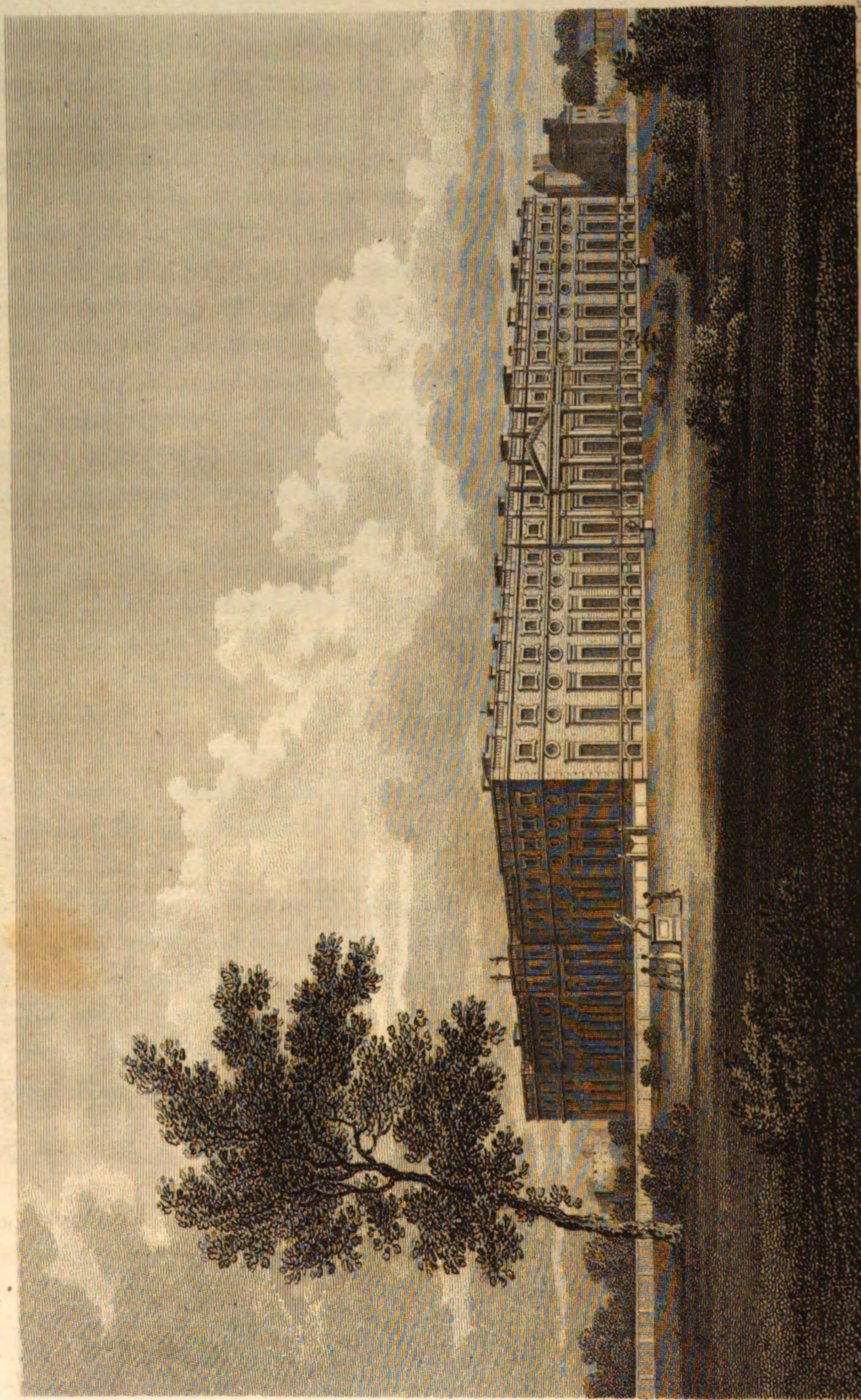
* Political oeconomists have discovered two criteria by which national riches or poverty may be determined; the price of land and the interest of money; universally, where the former is low the latter is at a high rate, and where this is the case the state is in a condition of penury; for it shews there are many to borrow and few to lend. But where the land is high in price, and the interest of money low, it indicates the opposite circumstance, that there are few to borrow and many to lend. Where interest is low, the occupant of land can afford to borrow money to improve his landed possessions; the tradesman can also afford to borrow money to employ numerous hands in his commercial engagements; and thus the industry of the country is thrown into agriculture and commerce.

THE HOUSE IN THE WOOD.

perty was so generally apportioned, that there was, perhaps, scarcely a family through the country which did not possess the necessities, the conveniences, and even the luxuries of life.

But the fastidious virtuoso has objected, that where the mercenary arts have been practised with so much success, learning and the liberal sciences have been abandoned. Will not Grotius and Erasmus cover a multitude of sins? Has not the art of painting been more successfully cultivated in Holland than in any other country excepting Italy? But we admit that the greedy tribe of amateurs will not always indulge the gratification of their sophisticated appetite in this country; the warmth of their palate is ill-suited to the frigidity of the Dutch repast. Yet while these fanciful intruders turn away with affected disgust, the friend of humanity will trace, with delight, the sources of rational enjoyment, which flow from competence and moderation in every order of the state; if, in despotic governments, he discern the unnatural extremes of affluence and penury, here he will discover no form emaciated by want, and no mind debased by oppression.

The true cause of the late abdication and revolution may be concisely explained. The changes in 1787 were occasioned by the union of the Stadtholder with the Houses of Hanover and Brandenburg, in consequence of which his prerogatives were enlarged, and his enemies were silenced. The grateful return he was disposed to make to the powerful friends by whom he was assisted in the moment of emergency, induced the surrender of the pacific maxims of the Dutch government to the hostile views of the partizans of the Prince of Nassau. The military hosts of France poured onward from the Rhine in an impetuous storm, and encountered the forces of Holland on an element to which they were unaccustomed; civil dissensions protracted yet more the tardy councils of the government; revenge was active, and the crisis was precipitated, which reduced their High Mightinesses beneath the feet of the great Napoleon.



HAMPTON COURT.

London. Published by W.H. Wyatt, 2^d Oct. 1849.

Historical View

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THE reign of Henry VIII. is a memorable era in the annals of architecture. The Gothic style, which had so long exercised the ingenuity and extorted the admiration of the English, was now to terminate its career. The ornamental Gothic supplanted the simple Saxon architecture, but something still more superb was needed, and the style denominated (in allusion to literature) *florid Gothic* was invented by the exuberant fancy of the architects. "Its characteristics," observes an elegant writer, "are a profusion of ornaments, minute yet delicate; a finishing light and slender, from which apparent strength and solidity recede; walls surmounted by latticed battlements; windows less pointed, but broad and open; roofs divided by slight ribs into numerous compartments, fretted curiously, like rich embroidery, interspersed with sculpture, and spangled with pencil and clustering decorations, like those grottoes where the oozing waters is petrified before it distils from the vault."

Amid splendour like this the sun of Gothic architecture set in the sixteenth century. It was, however, reserved for Cardinal Wolsey to establish, as it were, a new era in the arts, and to give an important effect to the taste of each succeeding age. That of Henry VIII. directed him to tents composed of cloth of gold, to costly jousts, and numerous bands arrayed in liveries of pomp and show.* Wolsey was perfectly sensible of the charms of habitual splen-

* It is curious to observe, that Henry and his daughter Mary, were fond of the colours of green and white: Elizabeth, on the contrary, seems to have always affected the sombre tranquillity of black.

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dour, but magnificence of a less evanescent nature obtained his serious admiration, and he was solicitous to raise lasting monuments of combined taste and liberality.

In regard to buildings devoted to religious purposes, it is evident that Wolsey esteemed the florid Gothic as the most desirable style. There is an impressive solemnity attached to the character of Gothic buildings, which unavoidably inspires serious reflection and reverential awe. The approximation to nature, in her more retired habits, observable in the formation of Gothic structures, seems peculiarly to point to that character of architecture as the style adapted to sacred uses. The very absence of art (so that sublimity be attained) is here a most grateful advantage.

A fortunate combination of circumstances now concurred to the introduction of refinements on the accustomed mode of domestic architecture. Internal tranquillity had hitherto been a blessing of so precarious a tenure, that security was inevitably the primary object with every noble builder. From various causes (the discovery of the art of printing being entitled to the first place) mankind had now begun to find that honor may spring from sources unconnected with devastation and bloodshed, and that social intercourse may be directed to nobler purposes than the mere procuration of party strength and individual ascendancy.

The invention of cannon, likewise, tended, in a very important degree, to render nugatory the massive solidity of unshaped walls, and the repulsive austerity of embattled barbicans. The court afforded a pattern of elegance, and the nobles had sufficient leisure and affluence for the pleasing business of imitation.

It is a curious speculation to trace the progress of domestic architecture. Conjecture is our only guide, as to the construction of the buildings of the very early stages of civilization; but this is one among the few subjects on which conjecture may be exercised with all the confidence of legitimate intelligence.

"The annual progress of the sun to the south," observes Malcolm, "renders it an indisputable fact, that the northern climate of England must have made huts or caves indispensably necessary to the inhabitants, for at least five months out of twelve, from the first hour that our country was peopled. Ideas

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are useless on such a subject : *sensation* is sufficient for the purpose. I do not hesitate, therefore, to assert that our aborigines fortified existence in caverns, natural and artificial."

With this opinion we fully agree. The practice of mankind in every northern climate, when humanity moves only in the first stages towards comfort, warrants the readiness of this conclusion.

As the suggestions of instinct precede, in effort, the deliberations of reason, there is room to suppose that man borrowed his first hints in architecture from the bird which formed its nest in the branch of that tree whose hollow trunk sheltered the lord of the creation (forlorn and comfortless while in an uncongregated state) from the dangers of night, or the rude blast of a winter's gale. The infant attempts of our novel architect were guided by the inclinations of nature, rather than the resolves of skill.

"That the primitive hut was of a conic figure," says Sir W. Chambers, "it is reasonable to conjecture, from its being the simplest of solid forms, and most easily constructed. But, soon as the inhabitants discovered the inconvenience of the inclined sides, and the want of upright space in the cone, they changed it for the cube, and, as it is supposed, proceeded in the following manner.

"Having," writes Virtruvius, "marked out the space to be occupied by the hut, they fixed in the ground several upright trunks of trees to form the sides; filling the intervals between them with branches, closely interwoven, and spread over with clay. The sides thus completed, four beams were laid on the upright trunks, which, being well fastened together at the angles of their junction, kept the sides firm; and, likewise, served to support the covering, or roof of the building; which was composed of smaller trees, placed horizontally, like joists; upon which were laid several beds of reeds, leaves, and earth or clay.

"Other improvements took place by slow degrees. The bark and other protuberances, were taken from the trees that formed the sides; these trees were raised above the dirt and humidity, on stones; were covered at the top with other stones; and firmly bound round at both ends, with osier or cords, to secure them from splitting. The spaces between the joists of the roof were closed up with clay, or wax, and the ends of them either smoothed or covered

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with boards. The different beds of materials that composed the covering were cut straight at the eaves, and distinguished from each other by different projections. The form of the roof, too, was altered ; for being, on account of the flatness, unfit to throw off the rains which sometimes fell in great abundance, it was raised in the middle, on trees disposed like rafters, after the form of a gable roof."

In the constituent parts of buildings so simple as these, may be readily traced the origin of those particulars which now adorn our most splendid edifices.

That the English, in some degree, copied each perfection of their numerous invaders appears unquestionable. From Rome, from Saxony, from Denmark, and Normandy, hints were collected which still exist in the rudiments of English domestic architecture, though the particular source from whence they are derived, is now lost and confounded in the general mass of national information.

The perishable materials* of which the great majority of domestic buildings were composed, before the reign of Richard II. forbid the possibility of the most accurate research ascertaining the exact formation of the dwellings possessed by our ancestors, in the early ages of English splendour.

When we remember that not only the art of cutting and sculpturing stone, but the use of bricks, and the knowledge of a cement so efficacious as to mock the imitative efforts of modern ingenuity, were introduced by their Roman conquerors to the early Britons, we should be lost in surprise at the supine temper of our forefathers, in regard to their modes of architecture, had we not at hand an immediate reason for their want of enterprize and slovenly humility of disposition. In a very short sentence that reason may be stated :—the fault lay in the government. The existence of arbitrary power rendered property insecure, and every noble art, and all honest emulation, slumbered in a state of morbid torpor which the talisman of widely diffused letters alone could remove.

From the time of Richard II. to that of Henry VIII. bricks appear to have

* The most ancient domestic building in England is a Danish palace at Southampton, built of stone. In Sir H. Englefield's account of Southampton may be seen some curious conjectures concerning this unique specimen of Danish domestic architecture.

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crept into use by tardy, but certain steps. The cheapness of bricks,* in regard to the construction of mansions, undoubtedly persuaded their introduction in the first instance. The gradual abolition of the decorated Gothic manner afforded a new argument for the disuse of stone. Example, at length, operated on the middle classes, though to us it appears certain, from an investigation of the character of antient farm-houses in the more retired parts of England, that brick and mortar were commonly used in the building of even inferior farmers' dwellings, before lath and plaister were abandoned by the infatuated architects of the metropolis.

We have said that, under the auspices of Cardinal Wolsey, architecture was to assume a new character in this island. The Italians had rejected the gloom of those Gothic castles in which their forefathers were contented to live, for halls of a lighter character, and galleries calculated to exhibit with brilliancy the charms of voluptuous dress and domestic decoration. By the Italians the contraction of the superior part of the Gothic window was abandoned, and the low pointed arch, described from four centres, with obtuse angles, was introduced. The advantages of the Italian style of building were precisely suited to the purposes of Wolsey.

It appears that Wolsey meant to construct at Hampton, such a splendid specimen of Grecian correctness as might impart a new bias to the architecture of the island. It is to be attributed to the lingering relics of prejudice, and the indignant unwillingness to be instructed in their own art, too common with professional characters of every description, that the Gothic and the Grecian styles were blended in the Cardinal's magnificent building, with pointless and disgusting impropriety.

The situation chosen for the edifice was very desirable, according to the taste of the age. Insensible to the charms of an elevated site, the security from piercing winds, attainable in the humility of the lowlands, generally induced noble founders to place the most costly mansions on flat and uninteresting

* In proof of the durable quality of bricks at this time, it need only be stated, that when one of the towers of the wall that formerly surrounded London was pulled down, the stone was found decayed, and the bricks perfectly sound.

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tracts of ground. In conformance to the custom of the era, Wolsey esteemed the fertile equality of country round Hampton its greatest recommendation. The vicinity of the Thames was a circumstance of unequivocal advantage.

The building was composed of brick, and consisted of five courts. The small part of the ancient palace which remains, can convey only a very inadequate idea of the former splendour of Hampton. The apartments which are now standing were principally used as domestic offices.

The following curious description, copied from the travels of Hentzner, which were written in the year 1598, presents a satisfactory picture of the appearance of the palace in the reign of Elizabeth: "Hampton Court is a royal palace, magnificently built with brick, by Cardinal Wolsey, in ostentation of his wealth, where he inclosed five very ample courts, consisting of noble edifices, in very beautiful work. Over the gate in the second area is the Queen's device, a golden rose, with this motto, *Dieu et mon Droit*. On the inward side of this gate are the effigies of the twelve Roman Emperors, in plaster. The chief area is paved with square stone: in its centre is a fountain that throws up water, covered with a gilt crown, on the top of which is a statue of Justice, supported by columns of black and white marble.

"The chapel of this palace is most splendid, in which the Queen's closet is quite transparent, having its windows of crystal. We were led into two chambers called the presence, or chambers of audience, which shone with tapestry of gold and silver, and silk of different colours. Under the canopy of state are these words, embroidered in pearl, *Vivat Henricus octavus*.

"Here is, besides, a small chapel richly hung with tapestry, where the queen performs her devotions. In her bed-chamber the bed was covered with very costly coverlids of silk. At no great distance from this room, we were shewn a bed, the tester of which was worked by Anne Bulleyn.

"All the other rooms, being very numerous, are adorned with tapestry of gold, silver, and velvet, in some of which were woven history pieces; in others Turkish and American dresses, all extremely natural. In the hall are these curiosities: a very clear looking glass, ornamented with columns and little images of alabaster; a portrait of Edward VI. brother of Queen Elizabeth; the true portrait of Lucretia; a picture of the battle of Pavia; the history of Christ's

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passion, carved in mother-of-pearl; the portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, who was beheaded, and her daughter; * the picture of Ferdinand prince of Spain; and of Philip his son; that of Henry VIII. under which was placed the bible, curiously written upon parchment; an artificial sphere; several musical instruments; in the tapestry are represented negroes riding upon elephants.

"In one chamber are several excessively rich tapestries, which are hung up when the queen gives audience to foreign ambassadors. There were numbers of cushions ornamented with gold and silver; many counterpanes and cover-lids of beds lined with ermine; in short, all the walls of the palace shine with gold and silver.

"Here is, beside, a certain cabinet called paradise, where besides that every thing glitters so with silver, gold, and jewels, as to dazzle one's eyes, there is a musical instrument made all of glass, except the strings.

"Afterwards, we were led into the gardens, which are most pleasant. Here we saw rosemary, so planted and nailed to the walls as to cover them entirely, which is a method exceeding common in England."

This palace, if we may credit Camden, was not completed by Wolsey. According to Fiddes, Wolsey presented the pile voluntarily to Henry, as a proof of the grateful sense he entertained of the monarch's favor; this, however, is quite hypothetical.

The palace of Hampton was calculated to rouse every envious propensity of his bosom, as he possessed a favorite residence in the immediate vicinity (at Hanworth) which Camden says was "though a royal, but a small house." Undoubtedly, the comparison was obviously detrimental to the king's accustomed place of resort, and Wolsey judiciously averted the possibility of offence, by devoting his edifice to the service of his master.

It is impossible to read the description given by Hentzner, without noticing the gaudy manner in which the interior of Hampton Court was arranged. This tasteless partiality for mere show would seem to bespeak the interference of Henry. The man who projected the introduction of classical architecture, would, surely, have preferred simple statues to "golden tapestry," if he had been permitted to complete, according to his own wishes, the palace which he designed with so liberal a motive!

* An evident mistake of the writer.

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Henry appears to have frequently visited Hampton Court, and Elizabeth honored this residence with peculiar marks of favor. The following is the most memorable circumstance connected with her visits. "In September, 1572, the queen, who had hitherto been very healthy (never eating without an appetite, nor drinking without some allay) fell sick of the small-pox, at Hampton Court. But she recovered before there was any news of her being sick; and, falling to the care of the government, ordered Portsmouth to be strengthened with new fortifications; her navy to be increased with more men-of-war; musters to be observed in every county, at set times; and the youth to be trained up to war; and all this when she enjoyed a profound peace!"*

Not only was Elizabeth's vigilance, but her severity, evinced in transactions with which Hampton Court was connected. It was here that some of the unwarrantable proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots were instituted. In December, 1568, conferences were held at this palace, after the cessation of those at York, when new commissioners were appointed, and so little decency was regarded, that the regent, or his secretary, suffered the accusation, with the proofs, to be snatched out of his hand. It was at this period that Mary's conduct appeared most equivocal. She had implored enquiry; but, when Elizabeth complied with her demand, she produced a formal revocation of the commission she had herself appointed, and urged exceptions to that of the English Queen. Her expedients were vain. Buchanan, who was present, informs us that, on this occasion, Murray produced the confessions of the criminals executed for King Henry's murder. He then read the decrees of the states, confirming the queen's resignation of the crown to the king, her son: after which, he produced the fatal casket, which Bothwell would have plundered from the castle of Edinburgh, and exhibited the verses, letters, and contracts."

James I. does not appear to have been much attached to the palace of Hampton. He, however, called a synod here in the year 1604, ostensibly to receive complaints, and remove their causes, but really to further his favorite scheme—the introduction of episcopacy to Scotland. Here were assembled

* Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

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the Bishops of Canterbury, London, Winchester, Durham, St. David's, and other prebendaries; on the part of the presbytery appeared Drs. Reynolds and Spark, together with two other eminent divines. King James took a personal share in the debate, and rendered himself so agreeable to the courtly bishops, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was pleased piously to observe, that "he verily believed the king spoke by the spirit of God!" Egerton, the lord-chancellor, likewise said "he had often heard that priesthood and royalty were united, but that he never saw it verified until now."

During the civil war, so disastrous to the house of Stuart, Charles I. was conducted to Hampton Court, and here that ill-fated monarch experienced every pang that popular indignation, united with puritanical malice, had capacity to inflict. In common with most illustrious victims, Charles hurried the pressure of calamity on his devoted head. At the end of the year 1647, he fled from Hampton Court, without any rational plan of future conduct, and without the invitation of friends who were likely to shelter him in adversity.

The general ruin of splendid domestic edifices during the Rebellion, contributed, in no mean degree, to the advancement of a classical taste in architecture among the English. It was while King William sat on the throne, that the most memorable change observable in the annals of British architecture generally took place in this island. Among the various buildings illustrative of the national improvement in taste, Hampton Court (as re-built by Sir Christopher Wren, at the command of the sovereign) occupies a prominent situation. The grand façade to the garden is in width 330 feet, exceeding in width the front towards the Thames by two feet. The general design of the building is magnificent, yet delicate. The Ionic order prevails in the principal departments of the edifice. "On the north side is a tennis-court. Passing through a court-yard, the first portal appears, leading to two quadrangles; and on the left of the latter is the ancient hall in which Queen Caroline erected a theatre. On the opposite side of this quadrangle is a stone Ionic colonnade, conducting to the great staircase, the ceiling of which was painted by Verrio. The gardens are in the regular style so aptly described by Pope:—

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"Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other."

"The grounds belonging to the palace are three miles in circumference." Pursuant to our general design, the artist has represented in the plate attached to this article, that view of the palace which was judged the best calculated for a display of its determinate character. The reader will readily acknowledge that a catalogue of pictures, and a descriptive account of statues, are foreign to the intention of our work. We therefore proceed to give an historical account of this palace, and have to observe, that Hampton Court was the favorite residence of the monarch who revived its ancient splendour. The Prince of Orange was so little accustomed, in Holland, to the charms of picturesque scenery, that he deemed the flatness of surface by which the neighbourhood of the palace is characterised, its most captivating point of beauty. The sister of Queen Mary entertained the same partiality for Hampton, but the princes of the house of Brunswick have exhibited more strength of judgment, and have abandoned the level verdure of Hampton, for the magnificent boldness of Windsor Castle.

Even commercial districts are liable to the consequences of ambition. The states of Holland were forced to suspend their industrious pursuits, and William V. was driven from the principality of his ancestors, and compelled to seek shelter in Great Britain. By a strange caprice of fortune, Hampton Court was named as his residence; and thus he lived inglorious and destitute of sway, in the very palace where his illustrious predecessor negotiated the claims of empire and assumed the reins of power!

The founder of Hampton Court is entitled to our serious consideration. There are few names in the diversified annals of the British isles more familiar to the general reader than that of Cardinal Wolsey. Biographical history resembles a gallery of august portraits. The spectator passes a thousand faces replete with promise of peaceful benevolence and domestic excellence, to hang with admiration over the strong bold countenance of enterprise and resolution. There are some men, even in the public legends of our country, so tamely excellent that they want the garb and trappings of an historical hero. Wolsey

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is, assuredly, not one of these. His life is marked by vicissitude. His character is diversified by light and shade. In a word, he presents so strongly-marked a countenance in the gallery of national pictures, that the spectator ever pauses before the delineation, and cons the chequered events of his life as an historic drama of irresistible sublimity.

Since the leading features of Wolsey's life are so generally familiar, we decline the idea of laboured recitation. It appears desirable only to collect supplementary hints, which, by alternately exalting and depressing our recollections of this great favorite of fortune, may act as the last touches of light and shade bestowed by the painter on a portrait—which complete the effect, and serve to impress the resemblance on the mind of the most cursory observer.

There is a certain species of courtly danger connected with historical writing, that seldom fails to corrupt even those who enter the limits with intentions of the brightest purity. Among the few who have passed this fiery ordeal, and remain just, Dr. Fiddes is an exemplary instance of biographical impartiality. With equal confidence and pride, therefore, we profess chiefly to extract from his valuable work, the following anecdotes of Cardinal Wolsey.

"There have appeared in the world," says Bruyere, "from time to time, some admirable, extraordinary men, whose virtues and eminent qualities have cast a prodigious lustre, like those unusual stars in the heavens, the causes of which we are ignorant of, and know as little of them after they disappear." Cardinal Wolsey evinces the truth of this remark. Nothing decisive is known respecting his father, and the most careful inquirer has not discovered any particulars concerning the family after the decease of the Cardinal. Common report affirms his father to have been a butcher. Fiddes adduces strong reasons for the disbelief of this report. This accurate investigator has discovered the will of Wolsey's father. He appears to have been a man of good property, and in the fifteenth century (when most country families killed meat for their own consumption) a butcher at Ipswich can scarcely be supposed to have possessed a real estate. By the will it seems that Thomas was bred a scholar and designed by his father for priest's orders.

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Fuller observes, in his church history, that, to humble the Cardinal's pride, some person had set up, on a window belonging to his college, a painted mastiff dog, gnawing the spine-bone of a shoulder of mutton, to remind him of his extraction, he being the son of a butcher. A dog gnawing a bone (but not the spine-bone of a shoulder of mutton) assuredly was to be seen over one of the windows in the front of Christ Church, "yet that figure," says Fiddes, "seems to be placed there by mere accident, there being, upon the same continued line with it, several other anticks, at proper distances, intended, according to the architecture of that time, for the greater decoration of the building. It is probable Fuller's story has no other foundation than this wretched figure: for after all, there is no one in the whole thread of them that appears to be worse designed or performed." It appears probable that the story of Wolsey's father being a butcher was devised by the enemies of his success, or of his religious sentiment.

Wolsey was sent so early to the university of Oxford, that he took his bachelor's degree in arts when he was fourteen years old. His precocity of talent, and early acquirements, procured him the appellation of *The boy-bachelor*.

There is an oral report in the society of Magdalen college, that Wolsey, while Burser, made use of violent methods to possess himself of money from the treasury, for the purpose of furthering the erection of the great tower of Magdalen-college. From the silence of his enemies, during the whole period of his life, Dr. Fiddes contends that, if the story be correct, "he apprehended himself, at least, unjustly opposed, and contrary to some previous trust which the society had reposed in him." In this vague anecdote we may, without difficulty, trace the characteristics of Wolsey's disposition: his imperious love of rule, and the public spirit and reverence for the arts which regularly marked his demeanor.

Wolsey's first preferment is well known to have been the rectory of Lymington. It was here that he was placed in the stocks, by order of Sir Amias Pawlett, on account, as is believed, of disorderly behaviour and intoxication! When Wolsey became lord-chancellor, he sent for Sir Amias, and after a severe expostulation, ordered him into confinement, where he remained

The knight was detained in the temple. To prepare the way for the recovery of his liberty, he adorned the gateway next to the street, with the arms, hat, and other honorary appendages of the cardinal.

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for five or six years.* There appears a mean spirit of resentment in this conduct, but Fiddes observes that the cardinal might punish the indecorous liberty taken with the sacerdotal character, rather than the affront offered to the man.

The graces of Wolsey's person appear to have facilitated his progress at court. Though of middling stature, his air is described as naturally dignified and commanding. To this habitual superiority of deportment Fiddes is willing to ascribe a portion of the pride imputed to Wolsey, by those who were obliged to seek favor from his power. And when we recollect on what slight grounds men usually form opinions concerning those in an elevated and enviable sphere, it is far from unlikely that the supposition is correct. Yet Wolsey certainly sometimes forgot the equanimity becoming a truly great man, however exalted his fortunes.

The following extract from a letter in Lodge's Illustrations of British History, though far from conclusive evidence, warrants suspicions detrimental to his reputation for liberality of manners. The original letter was written by Thomas Allen, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1517, and is so much decayed, that many words are entirely lost: Mr. Lodge has endeavoured to supply the sense by those printed in Italics. "Please it yo^r. Lordship to be advertised, upon Monday was sevenyght, last past, I *del^d*. your letter, with the examinacons, to my Lord Cardinal at Gilford. Whereas he commanded me to wait upon hym to the court, and I should have p'ceps on them. The same tyme I shewed unto him they wer but poor men, and did the trespas of innocency, and of no malice—I followed hym to the court, and ther gaffe attendance, and could have no ansuer. Upon Friday last he came from thens to Hampton Court, wher he lyeth. The *day* after, I besogth is Grace I mygth knowe his pleasure. I could have no ansuer then. Upon Monday last, as he walked in the Parke at Hampton Court, I besogth hym I mygth knowe if he wold comand me any syrvyce; he was not plesed with me that I speke to him. The Sondey before I delivered the letter unto hym wiche *Raufe Leche* brogth; I can have no ansuer to noder of bothe. He that shalbe a sutor unto hym may have no oder besynes but giff attendaunce upon his pleasure: He that

* The knight was detained in the temple. To prepare the way for the recovery of his liberty, he adorned the gateway next to the street, with the arms, hat, and other honorary appendages of the cardinal.

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shall do so is nedefull to be a wyser man ner I am, I saw no better remedy, but com, without ansuer, to persue such *thinges* yn London as yo^r. Lordship comands to be don, except I wold have *don* as my Lord Dacre's servand dothe, wiche cam with lettres for the Kyng, is grace, V moneths sens, and yet have no ansuer: and anoder servand of the dep. Of Cales yn likewise which cam befor he rode to Walsyngham. I her that he answered them 'If ye be not content to tary my lesor, depart when ye will.' When he walkes in the parke he woll suffr no sutor to com nye unto hym, but comands hym away as far as a man woll shoote an arro."

Wolsey's celerity of action is characteristically displayed in the account given of his embassy to the emperor, the object of which was a treaty of marriage between Henry VII. and Margaret Duchess of Savoy. "Having received his dispatches, Wolsey set forward from Richmond; about four in the afternoon, he reached London, where he found a barge from Gravesend ready to receive him. In less than three hours he was at Gravesend. At which place he stayed no longer than while post-horses could be provided for his furtherance to Dover. He arrived at Dover the next morning, and took advantage of a passage-boat that was just going to set sail for Calais; to which place he came long before noon, and proceeded forward with such expedition as brought him that night to the imperial court, which was then in Flanders. Having opened his credentials to the emperor, he made it his humble request, for reasons respecting the special service of both courts, that his return might be expedited. To which request the emperor was so favorable, that the next morning he received his dispatches, wherein every thing was agreed to that had been proposed on the part of his master. Upon this, he immediately took post for Calais, at which place he arrived at the opening of the gates, and found the passengers ready to put to sea, in the same boat which lay so conveniently for him when he arrived in his way forward at Dover. Fortune continued his friend, and he reached Richmond that night. In the morning, he threw himself at the king's feet, as his majesty came first out of his bed-chamber, to hear mass in his closet. The king not expecting to see him there, and supposing he was not gone on his embassy, gave him a severe rebuke for his neglect of the orders wherewith he had been charged; upon which, to the king's great surprise, he presented the letters from the emperor."

His accommodating disposition assisted in recommending Wolsey to the

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notice of Henry VIII. : as a man of business, however, his talents were of the most useful character. At once capable of the greatest strokes of policy, and possessed of industry sufficient for the toil of official routine, he presented to Henry precisely the minister adapted to remove from the monarch all weight of government, without important danger to the well-being of the state. Notwithstanding his wonted expedition, Wolsey was always composed in the midst of the most urgent and perplexing affairs. His ostentatious retinue, and the luxuriance of his banquets, were highly congenial to the disposition of the king. An opportunity of displaying pomp was never omitted by the stately churchman.

When Campejus, after stopping three months at Calais, entered England, he was received with great splendour, and many testimonies of respect. "Wolsey understanding that his retinue at Calais was meanly cloathed, and did not make an appearance suitable to the dignity of his station and character, had sent thither a considerable quantity of scarlet cloth to do more credit to his embassy." A singular circumstance attended the continued endeavours of the cardinal to do honor to the retinue of Campejus. "The night before Campejus made his entry into London, having but eight mules of his own, the cardinal, to make his train more pompous, sent him twelve more, with empty coffers, under a red covering. But one of the mules, in Cheapside, during the procession, being unruly, put the others into such a disorder as caused several carriages to be overturned, which, breaking in the fall, instead of the rich furniture they were supposed to contain, exposed to the view and derision of the people a collection of the most vile and homely materials."

In the plenitude of power, Wolsey was ever regular in devotional duties. "Notwithstanding the multiplicity of affairs wherewith the cardinal was taken up," says Fiddes, "and all the pageantry with which he was surrounded in his several offices, he never omitted, at the usual hours, regularly, and after a pious manner, to perform his public and private devotions." The piety of the age was fanciful: still genuine religion may be discovered through the veil of superstitious ceremony. During his disgrace, "instead of that soft raiment which he had been used to wear in the king's palaces, he put on a shirt of hair, which he wore frequently next to his body."

Sir Thomas More, who always spoke very acrimoniously of Wolsey, observes,

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that when he succeeded him as chancellor, he found suits in the court which had rested there for as much as twenty years. On the contrary, Fiddes asserts that Wolsey's conduct in that important office was highly exemplary. "In examining causes which came before him as chancellor," writes Fiddes, "he would take associates with him, learned in the laws, and ask their opinion; but in regard to matters that came before him, and were not very intricate, he would often give sentence according to the light of his own understanding. There is a general concurrence in the writers of his history, whether friends or enemies, that he acquitted himself in his judicial capacity as a man of virtue and honor should have done."

Erasmus appears to have been capable of abusing in adversity the man whom he had extolled when surrounded by the benefits of affluence.

As a proof of his adulation, he thus addresses the cardinal when in power. "Your highness, in the happy administration of the most flourishing kingdom upon earth, is not less necessary to the king your master than Theseus was formerly to Hercules, and Achates to Æneas."

Again he observes, "The Cardinal of York hath settled every thing in the republic of letters on a better footing, encouraging all persons of learning to be studious."

Mark the reverse! The cardinal went out of power, and the same writer produced this comment on his downfall: "This is the play of fortune! From being a schoolmaster, he was, in a manner, advanced to the royal dignity, for he might more truly be said to reign than the king himself. He was feared by all persons, but beloved by few, if indeed by any body."—Is this the "good and elegant" Erasmus?

The origin of Wolsey's quarrel with the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham is thus described:—"The cardinal once, when the duke was present, washing his hands in the same water after the king, the duke conceived so great indignation at the bold and unbecoming freedom he took, that he threw the water upon his feet. The cardinal, being provoked in his turn, *threatened* (that was his expression) *to sit upon the duke's skirts*. The duke, in contempt of this threat, or to ridicule him for so vulgar an expression, appeared the next day at court, before the king, in a dress without any skirts, and told the king he did so to prevent what the cardinal had threatened."

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The end of Buckingham is known. "When sentence was passed, and the edge of the axe turned towards him, he was remanded to the Tower. Upon his entering the barge wherein he was brought to Westminster, Sir Thomas Lovel, who had the charge of conducting him, desired he would sit as before upon the cushions, which he refused to do, saying to this effect, "that he came in quality of a Duke of Buckingham, but was now reduced to the condition of a private and mean person."

The king's wishes concerning Ann Boleyn certainly accelerated (if, indeed, they did not altogether occasion) the disgrace of the cardinal. An interview, according to Godwyn, took place between the king and Wolsey before Henry could persuade himself entirely to abandon the fortunes of his favorite minister. "His majesty alleged several things in defence of what he proposed, and particularly represented the effects of his royal displeasure, which the cardinal had reason to fear he might incur in case he should shew himself reluctant to so reasonable a demand. It doth not appear what answer was returned by Wolsey; this only is certain, that he was so severely reproached and menaced by the king, that upon his withdrawing, he discovered a most sensible disorder and consternation of mind, for when the Bishop of Carlisle, who upon his return to Westminster attended him in his barge, observed it was a very hot day, the cardinal made answer, '*If you had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, you would then say you were indeed very hot.*'"

When Wolsey was commanded to leave York-place (since termed Whitehall) he surrendered the whole property contained in that palace to the king. From the inventory of Cavendish (a confidential attendant on the cardinal) some computation may be formed of the value of the articles thus resigned to the rapacious Henry. "In his gallery were set divers tables, upon which were laid divers and great stores of rich stuffs, such as whole pieces of silk of all colours, velvets, sattins, musts, taffaties, grograms, scarlets, and divers other rich commodities. There were, also, a thousand pieces of fine hollands, and the hangings of the gallery with cloth of gold, and cloth of silver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours, which were hanged in expectation of the king's coming. Also, on one side of the gallery were hanged the rich suite of copes of his own providing, which were made for the colleges of Oxford

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and Ipswich: they were the richest that ever I saw in all my life. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one most commonly called the *guilt chamber*, wherein were set two broad and long tables, whereupon was such abundance of plate, of all sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed. A great part being all of clear gold; and upon every table and cupboard, where the plate was set, were books importing every kind of plate, and every piece, with the contents and weight thereof."

On quitting York-place, the cardinal prepared to go by water for Ashur, but, before he took boat, Sir William Gascoign, his treasurer, officiously came unto him, and expressed much concern to hear it reported that he was to go straight to the Tower. This instance of Sir William's regard to his master, though the effect of a well-intended zeal, was not well received by the cardinal; he gently reprimanded that knight for his too easy credulity, and as not having taken a right method of administering the best comfort to his master in adversity. He said, "he would have him, and all the authors of such false reports, to know that he never deserved to come there."

When he entered his barge, at the privy-stairs, there was a vast number of boats upon the water, filled with people expecting to see the cardinal carried to the Tower. In all probability, the populace expressed a ferocious joy on the appearance of the disgraced minister, for Cavendish observes in this place, "that all men in favor are envied by the common people, though they do administer justice truly."

The cardinal, after he landed at Putney, had not gone far upon his mule, before he observed a horseman riding down the hill towards him. This was found to be Mr. Norris, who came to him with a message from the king, and assured him, in the king's name, that he was as much in his majesty's favor as ever he had been, and should so continue; that his majesty, therefore, advised him to be of good comfort, and not to give way to desponding thoughts.

Upon this message of Mr. Norris, the cardinal is said "to have alighted with great agility, and without the assistance of any servant, from his mule, and to have kneeled down upon both his knees in the dirt, holding up his hands in a transport of joy to heaven."

Another circumstance displays the anxiety of the cardinal to be restored

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to the favor of the court. He sent a letter by Cromwell to Gardiner, then secretary-of-state, in which he expressed himself with forlorn humility. He desires Gardiner, "as he tendered his poor life, and at the reverence of God, and that holy time (Christmas) he would send the king his letter!" Appealing also to his pity, knowing in what agony he was, and "that he would not only deserve towards God, but bind him thereby to be his continual beadsman;"* and so ended "from Ashur, written with his rude hand and sorrowful heart," subscribing himself, "the most miserable Thomas, Cardinal of York!"

The excuse offered by Fiddes for this despicable epistle deserves the reader's consideration. "Shall we say there is something so mean and unworthy of Cardinal Wolsey in this address, that the natural genius and force of his mind was now departed from him, by reason of an ill state of body, and of his wanting, at Ashur, not only the conveniences, but what, by persons of condition, would be thought the necessary supports of life; for, according to the account of Cavendish, who attended him in that place, *they had neither beds, sheets, table-cloths, nor dishes to eat their meat in; nor money wherewith to buy any.*"

It was at this time, when the cardinal was destitute of the ordinary necessities of life, that Cromwell took occasion to remind him that it was proper he should consider no competent provision had been made for several of his servants, who had never *forsaken him* (such were his words) *in weal nor woe*. To which the cardinal answered, "*Alas, Tom! You know I have nothing to give you, nor them, and am ashamed and sorry that I cannot requite your faithful services!*" Cromwell, who appears to have been a man that knew the world, and was not to be diverted from his point, then proposed that the cardinal's chaplains, whom he had preferred to rich benefices, should severally contribute towards the relief of the present exigency.

Upon this representation, the cardinal, in his episcopal habit, called together all his gentlemen, yeomen, and chaplains. "My lord," says Cavendish, "went with his chaplains to the upper end of his chamber, where was a great window, beholding his goodly number of servants, who could not speak to them until the tears ran down his cheeks; which being perceived by his

* Equivalent to binding him ever to pray for him.

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servants, caused fountains of tears to gush out of their sorrowful eyes, in such sort as would cause any heart to relent. At last my lord spake to them to this effect and purpose:

"Most faithful gentlemen, and true-hearted yeomen! I much lament that in my prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done. Still, I consider, that if in my prosperity I had preferred you to the king, then should I have incurred the king's servants' displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my back that there could no office about the court escape the cardinal and his servants; and by that means, I should have run into open slander of all the world; but now is it come to pass that it hath pleased the king to take all that I have into his hands, so that I have now nothing to give you. *For I have nothing left me but the bare cloaths on my back!*"

That the king sent Wolsey, while at Ashur, a ring, as a token of his friendship, is well known. Queen Anne Boleyn was present when his majesty took the ring from his finger. "Good sweet-heart!" said Henry to his consort, "as you love me, send the cardinal a token at my request, and in so doing you shall deserve our thanks." The queen then took a tablet of gold that hung by her side, and gave it to Doctor Butts, to be delivered to Wolsey in a friendly manner.

The cardinal appears to have been extremely credulous in respect to omens. "When he was one day at dinner (during his banishment from court) his great cross, which was placed by him, fell, and in the fall broke Dr. Bonner's head. Upon his asking whether it had drawn any blood, and Cavendish, who was then in waiting, replying, yes, he turned his head aside and gravely observing it was an ill omen, immediately after the blessing, retired to his bed-chamber." The exposition which himself afterwards gave of this presage to Cavendish, is recited in that author's own words. "The great cross that he bare as Archbishop of York, betokened himself and Dr. Austin; the physician who overthrew the cross was he that accused my lord, whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrow him; it fell on Dr. Bonner's head, who was then master of my lord's faculties and spiritual jurisdiction; which was then damnified by the fall thereof; and, moreover, the drawing of blood betokeneth death, which," says Cavendish, "did shortly after follow."

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When Wolsey set forwards on his journey to York, his retinue was such as became his dignity. He had, in his train, a hundred and sixty persons, with twelve carts, which were sent with goods from his college of Oxford. He prepared to celebrate the festival of Easter, at Peterborough, and on Palm Sunday went in solemn procession with the monks there bearing his Palm. Upon Thursday following, he kept a *maundy*, washing and kissing the feet of fifty-nine poor people, and, after he had dried, gave to every one of them twelve-pence, with three ells of good canvas to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, and a *cask of red herrings*."

When Wolsey was arrested on the charge of high-treason, "what principally afflicted him, and for which he most refused to be comforted, was a generous reflection that he had nothing wherewithal to reward his true and faithful servants. On Sunday, when he was ready to set forward on his journey towards London, the porter had no sooner opened the gates of his palace but there was seen assembled before it a multitude of people, in number above 3,000, crying out with a loud voice, 'God save your Grace! God save your Grace! Evil be to them that have taken you from us!'—and thus they ran after him through the town of Caywood, for he was there very well beloved, both by rich and poor."

It has been by some supposed that Wolsey took poison during his last attempt to travel to London; but the remains of the once proud cardinal exhibited no marks of violent dissolution. "After he was dead," says Fiddes, "his body lay publicly exposed with the face uncovered, at Leicester, in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen (to prevent false reports of his being alive) when there appeared no symptoms of his being poisoned."

After so prolix an account of Cardinal Wolsey, it now only remains to take some notice of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of the modern palace at Hampton, son of the Rev. Christopher Wren, who was chaplain to Charles I. and Dean of Windsor, &c. This gentleman (being registrar to the order of the garter) drew up a catalogue of the knights, which is said to be yet extant among the manuscripts of Caius-college, Cambridge. Mr. Wren was particularly attached to mathematical studies, and was generally considered a man of worth and talent.

His son Christopher, afterwards of so much importance to the arts of his

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country, was admitted a gentleman-commoner at Wadham-college, Oxford, at the age of fourteen, and very shortly received the most flattering testimonies of proficiency in mathematical knowledge. He took the degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1650, and that of master in 1652, having been chosen fellow of All-soul's college. In 1657 he was elected professor of astronomy in Gresham-college, and his lectures were both popular and judicious. It was while lecturer at Gresham that he solved the problem vauntingly proposed by Pascal (under the assumed name of John de Montfort) to the mathematicians of England. Wren retaliated, in a proposition to the scholiasts of France, but they sent no reply, and Wren devised the solution himself. His reputation was now so much extended that the university of Oxford received him with much satisfaction as their savilian professor of astronomy. He entered on his office in May, and in the September following was created doctor of civil law.

It was only as an incidental accomplishment that Wren first directed his attention to architecture. Yet was his taste so refined, and his application so laudably diligent, that his reputed skill in the art induced Charles II. to name Dr. Wren as assistant to Sir John Denham, surveyor-general of his majesty's works. Wren was chosen fellow of the Royal Society in 1663, and thus had the honor of being one of those who were first appointed by the council after the grant of their charter.

Soon after the nomination of Dr. Wren, "it being expected that the king would make the society a visit, the Lord Bronker, then president, by a letter desired the advice of Wren, who was then at Oxford, concerning the experiments which might be most proper for his majesty's entertainment; to whom the doctor recommended principally the torricellian experiment, and the weather needle; as being not bare amusements, but useful, and likewise neat in the operation."

The "discoveries in astronomy, natural philosophy, and other sciences," made by Dr. Wren, while connected with the institution, the reader may find detailed in Sprat's History of the Royal Society.

In 1665, Wren visited France, chiefly for the purpose of examining the public buildings in that country. In the same year he was appointed to superintend the reparation of St. Paul's cathedral. Evelyn thus mentions

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this latter circumstance: "I have named St. Paul's, and truly not without admiration, as often as I call to mind the sad and deplorable state it was in; when, after it had been made a stable of horses and a den of thieves, you, with other gentlemen and myself, were, by the late king Charles, named to survey the dilapidations, and to make report to his majesty in order to a speedy reparation. You will not, as I am sure, forget the struggle we had with some who were for patching it up any how, so the steeple might stand, instead of new building; when, to put an end to the contest, five days afterward, that dreadful conflagration happened, out of whose ashes this Phoenix is risen, and was by providence designed for you."

The great fire, denominated the fire of London, opened a scene of action for Wren which the most sanguine fancy would never venture to anticipate. In the course of a few days, Wren was prepared with a plan for a new metropolis. "Dr. Wren," says Oldenburg, writing to Mr. Boyle, "has drawn a model for a new city, and presented it to the king, who produced it himself before his council, and manifested much approbation of it. I was yesterday morning with the doctor, and saw the model which, methinks, does so well provide for security, conveniency, and beauty, that I can see nothing wanting as to these three main articles; but whether it has consulted with the populousness of a great city, and whether reasons of state would have that consulted with, is a quere with me." *

In 1688 Sir John Denham died, and Wren succeeded him in the office of surveyor-general of his majesty's works. In addition to the important duties of this situation, the restoration of the metropolis demanded the continual attention of Dr. Wren. The theatre at Oxford is an elegant monument of the taste and skill of Wren, but his abilities are peculiarly displayed in the various public buildings which rose from the ashes of the prostrate metropolis.

The list of these would be found to extend to a greater length than the catalogue of works performed by any other architect. If Wren had built only one church (that of St. Stephen's, Walbrook) his reputation would have flourished for ages. Concerning this edifice, an author of great critical acumen thus writes: "The church in Walbrook, so little known among us,

of betioqps saw he was appointed to. In the same year he was appointed to superintend the rebuilding of the church in that country.

* An engraving of this plan was published in 1724.

HAMPTON COURT.

is famous all over Europe, and is justly reputed the master-piece of the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren. Perhaps Italy itself can produce no modern building that can vie with this in taste or proportion. There is not a beauty, which the plan would admit of, that is not to be found here in its greatest perfection; and foreigners very justly call our judgment in question for understanding its graces no better, and allowing it no higher a degree of fame."

In 1674, Dr. Wren received the distinction of knighthood, and at about the same time he resigned his savilian professorship at Oxford.

Sir Christopher Wren was first married to the daughter of Sir Thomas Coghill, of Blechington, in Oxfordshire; and, on the death of that lady, to the daughter of William Lord Fitzwilliam, Baron of Lifford, in Ireland. By the first lady he had a son; by the second a son and a daughter. "He sat twice in Parliament, as a representative for two different boroughs; first, for Plympton in Devonshire, in 1685, and again in 1700, for Melcomb-Regis in Dorsetshire." He died in the year 1723, (at the advanced age of ninety-one) and was interred with great solemnity, in St. Paul's cathedral.

The words of Mr. Hooke (who was perfectly qualified to form an opinion of his powers) appear to express justly the character of Wren. "I must affirm, that since the time of Archimides, there scarcely ever has met in one man, in so great a perfection, such a mechanical hand, and so philosophical a mind."



THE PANTHEON PARIS

London, Published by W. H. Wyatt, Decr 1st 1849.

PANTHEON OF PARIS,

AND

A DESIGN FOR A CENOTAPH.

THE name of this building is derived from the temple constructed at Rome by M. Agrippa, in honor of the gods. The Roman structure was in a circular form, and the concave of the dome was intended to represent the heavenly regions. When the rituals of Christianity supplanted the romantic mythology of the ancients, this edifice was transformed into a church. At Paris the precise reverse has occurred. The church of St. Genevieve was one of the most august buildings of the time of Lewis XV. But that tremendous fermentation in politics, which Mr. Burke did not hesitate to pronounce "an entire revolution in the mind of man," caused the cap of liberty to assume the place intended for the cross; and the church was transferred into a Pantheon,* where the remains of those who had deserved well of their country might be deposited, in witness of public gratitude, and in hope of exciting emulation.

* The original edifice was built by Souffleur; the alterations were arranged by Rondelet, who was at one time commissary of public works, and a member of the council of civil architecture. Rondelet has written an historical memoir on the dome of the French Pantheon, in which are some plates illustrating the comparative dimensions of the four great structures of Europe, surmounted with spherical roofs: St. Peter's, at Rome; St. Paul's, London; the Pantheon, and the Invalides, Paris. He likewise wrote a paper, in answer to M. Patte, in which he opposed the common opinion, respecting the exterior pressure of the cupola.

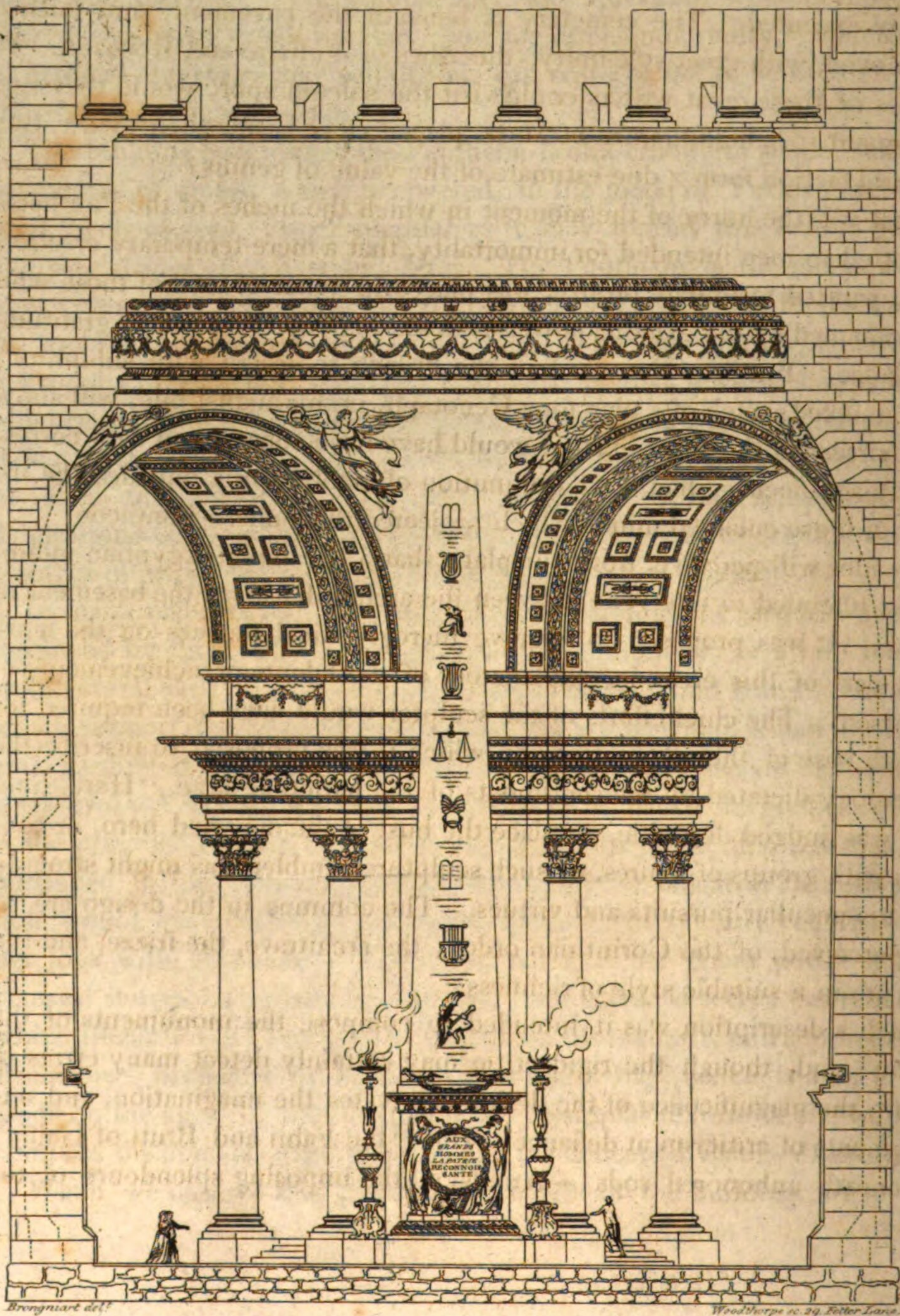
PANTHEON OF PARIS.

The cold politician, and the generous enthusiast, must surely agree as to the propriety of paying public and lasting honors to the memory of the virtuous and the wise. The philosopher may question, whether posthumous fame is a personal good, but that "longing after immortality," which prompts to heroic enterprise and self-denial, can scarcely fail to be of high value in the esteem of the statesman.

The building now termed the Pantheon is of a cruciform shape, surmounted by a dome of stone, which is covered, in the mode of Turkish architecture, with sheets of lead. But, singular as it may appear, this lead is painted in alternate stripes of yellow and blue. The Pantheon is the most prominent object viewed by the traveller on an approach to Paris, as St. Paul's announces the architectural magnificence of London, to persons journeying towards the metropolis of England. But the English cathedral possesses a decided precedence in regard to splendour of distant effect. And, when the traveller draws closer to the Pantheon, and views the party-colored vestment of its cupola, he hails the incongruous pile as a prototype of the temper of modern Transalpine-Gaul, which has a tendency, quite its own, to degrade the noblest resolves of art by the most ridiculous frippery of affectation.

In many respects the Pantheon, notwithstanding the tasteless decorations bestowed by those who prefer gaudiness to simplicity, is a rare instance of architectural skill. The vestibule is simple, correct, and grand. The columns which support the triangular pediment are six feet and a half in diameter; and, as they are of the Corinthian order, necessarily ascend to the height of sixty-five. A bas-relief adorns the pediment, in which the goddess of Liberty is the principal figure; and, to the credit of the artist, this celestial being is portrayed in the attitude of tender benignity: a vulgar or factious imagination would have described her as the destroyer of tyranny, and have armed her look with vengeance. On either hand of the grand portal are placed colossal statues on pedestals; and over each statue is seen a bas-relief, one of which illustrates the necessity of veneration for the laws, and another describes Innocence, protected by Justice. Our engraving (which is after a drawing made on the spot, in 1802) explains the dissimilar texture of the walls which compose the brachia of the crucifix, and the delicate divisions of the vestibule.

When we observe that the extreme height of the building is 265 English



DESIGN FOR THE MONUMENTS IN THE PANTHEON AT PARIS.

London, Published by W.H. Wyatt, Decr. 1. 1809.

PANTHEON OF PARIS.

feet, it will be readily believed that the effect produced by the interior of the dome is eminently grand and impressive. The inner parts of the edifice are entirely composed of stone, and are ornamented with a variety of pannels beautifully executed. The cemetery is beneath the pavement, and thither were removed, with great solemnity, the ashes of Voltaire and Rousseau. If the shades of these great writers could visit the solemn spot, would they not feel indignant to behold the urn of Marat placed close beside their own? But how should faction form a due estimate of the value of genius!

So great was the hurry of the moment in which the niches of the Pantheon were allotted to men intended for immortality, that a mere temporary erection of wood, painted to imitate bronze, was placed in honor of each of those who were first named by the existing power as deserving objects of public gratitude and applause. But it is the merit of the French to design with sublimity; and the annexed sketch of a plan for a Cenotaph, in this august pile, will show that the virtues of the most exalted would have been consecrated with correspondent magnificence, had not a diminution of public spirit impeded the intentions of those enlarged minds which projected the modern Pantheon.

The reader will perceive, from our plate, that a pyramidal Egyptian monument was intended to intervene between the arches that form the basement of the dome. It was proposed to engrave hieroglyphical devices on the more elevated part of this erection, explanatory of the talents or achievements of the deceased. The chief efforts of the sculptor would have been required for the superb base of the monument, on which it was proposed to inscribe the honest eulogy dictated by the sentiments of the nation at large. Here, likewise, it was judged desirable, to place the bust of the departed hero, in conjunction with groups of figures, or such sculptured emblems as might strongly express his peculiar pursuits and virtues. The columns in the design are, it will be perceived, of the Corinthian order; the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice, are in a suitable style of richness.

Of such a description was it intended to compose the monuments of the Pantheon; and, though the rigid critic may certainly detect many errors of judgment, the magnificence of the design captivates the imagination, and sets the arguments of criticism at defiance. But "the Fabii and Bruti of Gallia" sleep beneath unhonored sods!—Amidst all the imposing splendours of the

PANTHEON OF PARIS.

new empire ;—its legions of honor, its Mameluke guards, its coronation festivities, and its fireworks and illuminations, the forlorn patriot must surely stand aloof, and heave a sigh of bitter regret, whilst he beholds the building intended for the consecration of public virtue, perverted to the uses of superstition, or tributary to the sordid views of personal ambition !

It is impossible to quit the subject of public sepulture, without noticing the thoughtless want of respect with which the memory of departed excellence is treated by our own countrymen. The public benefactor, and the ornament of his nation dies, and vulgar hands place an undistinguished turf over his remote and obscure grave.

A writer, whose sensibility is unquestionable, and whose elegance of language is, at least, as efficacious as his arguments, has lately published "An Essay on Sepulchres," in which he proposes, by means of an extensive private subscription, that a cheap and slight memorial, as "a white cross of wood, with a wooden slab at the foot of it, where the body had been interred in the open air," should be erected, and *renewed when subject to decay*, "in all ages, on the spot where the remains of the illustrious dead have been interred." The author, likewise, states the propriety of forming a map, "which might be called *the atlas of those who have lived*, and might be marked with meridian lines and circles of latitude so as to ascertain, with incredible minuteness, where the ashes of eminent characters repose." Thus, time itself, though the tomb of brass, and the city strong in a million of inhabitants should fall victims, would in vain struggle to triumph over the tender duties which kindred feeling must ever be prone to perform at the grave of heroism or genius.

The cold calculator will term this scheme romantic ; and the prudent may, perhaps, unite in doubts concerning its feasibility ; but any scheme that has liberality for its basis, merits serious consideration. All the noblest feelings of the human breast call on us to awake from that lethargic indifference with which we have hitherto regarded the ashes of the truly illustrious.

FINIS.

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Brewer, James N.

A descriptive and historical account of various Palaces and public buildings, (English and foreign) with biographical notices of their founders and others eminent persons

London 1821

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